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JPRS-NEA-85-138

20 November 1985

## Near East/South Asia Report

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 2

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

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Distribution Unlimited

19980826 110

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20 November 1985

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

GCC FOREIGN MINISTERS DISCUSS WAR STRATEGY

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 13 Sep 85 p 18

[Article by Sultan 'Abdallah: "Gulf Foreign Ministers: Implementation of Strategy for Confronting Possibilities of Wider War"]

[Text] Arab Gulf consensus over the necessity to work for an end to the Iran-Iraq war is still a reality and a solution to the problem by peaceful means that guarantee the legitimate right of the two parties to the conflict remains an Arab Gulf goal the GCC countries are seeking to realize by various means despite persistent Iranian refusal.

Last week GCC foreign ministers during their 16th session discovered that the problem of the Iran-Iraq war had begun a new episode of military escalation with complete silence on the part of world public opinion, which seems to regard this issue as a religious problem posing no threat whatsoever to its interests! Rather it is a situation where arms-exporting and manufacturing countries have found a booming market which saps the strength of two warring neighbors.

Although the final communique issued at the end of the 2-day ministerial meeting did not point to a new initiative by GCC countries, it nonetheless emphasized an intention to renew the GCC countries' total readiness "to undertake any action that is bound to put a stop to the destruction and belligerence and to lead to a peaceful solution that takes into account the legitimate interests of both sides."

The council also expressed in the communique "its distress over Iran's persistent refusal to respond to endeavors aimed at ending the war through negotiation and communication."

Informed sources told AL-HAWADITH that the GCC countries were not eager to undertake any new initiative aimed at ending the Gulf war because of Iran's persistent refusal and the Tehran leaders' strange insistence on continuing the war. But the GCC capitals may keep up their contacts via diplomatic channels with the superpowers and the countries that maintain relations with both sides, particularly those which supply Iran with the military hardware it needs, to persuade them to halt their military shipments to Iran.

It is in this connection that the GCC foreign ministers will meet with the American president, Ronald Reagan, during the UN's 40th anniversary celebration, to discuss Gulf war developments. This external movement will be met with internal measures among the GCC countries to develop their individual military capabilities and hasten the implementation of the military fortification policy in order to face the possibility of aggression against a GCC country.

Joint Gulf military maneuvers are expected to be conducted in this framework at the end of this month or at the beginning of next month.

It appears that Kuwait is the GCC country most vulnerable to an Iranian attack in view of the statements and threats issued by Iran from time to time, the most recent of which was issued last week.

Notwithstanding the Gulf countries' emphasis that Iran's threats to widen the war have been issued since the outbreak of the war 5 years ago, GCC countries nonetheless have adopted military measures thought to be adequate for confronting any possible aggression. They also expressed their unequivocal rejection and strong condemnation of Iran's threats against Kuwait, reaffirming that they will not stand idly by in the face of aggression against any GCC country.

This message was conveyed directly to the Tehran leaders through Iran's allies in the region.

With regard to the matter of recent widespread terrorism in the area, Kuwait appealed in the ministerial meeting for a joint effort to confront the new wave of terrorism aimed at the countries of the region.

This appeal was voiced by the Kuwait deputy prime minister and foreign minister, Shaykh al-Ahmad al-Sabah, in his speech which opened the conference, the current session of which is chaired by his country. He alluded to the "intensification of terrorist activities and diverse methods and techniques which have chosen our country as a theater for its destruction."

He emphasized that "this terrorism must be confronted collectively and caution and adequate measures must be adopted to guarantee effective resistance to such criminal acts that are aimed at influencing our will and decisions, violating our independence and infringing upon our sovereignty."

A terrorist attempt via a car bomb was undertaken last May against the Kuwaiti ruler, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, and terrorists planted bombs at two popular Kuwaiti seaside cafes last July, claiming the lives of 16 civilians and causing scores of injuries. Kuwaiti authorities subsequently adopted a series of measures aimed at establishing peace and resisting any attempts of this kind. One strong measure was the deportation of suspects of all nationalities as well as of illegal aliens.

Informed circles told AL-HAWADITH that this subject was not discussed in depth by the foreign ministers because it had been amply discussed and debated last July during the previous session and the recommendations had been

submitted to the interior ministers of the six countries who plan to meet on 17 or 18 September in Riyadh. This is to be preceded by an undersecretaries meeting on 15 and 16 September to prepare for the conference, which it is hoped will produce more safeguards to ensure the safety of Gulf citizens without ratifying the joint Gulf security treaty at the upcoming meeting.

On the political level as well, the issue of the Arab initiative following the Casablanca summit took up a considerable part of the GCC foreign ministers' agenda.

According to informed sources, the meeting was dominated by a feeling that the state of Arab inaction will persist, as will political fickleness and constant alienation among many Arab capitals, unless prompt action is undertaken to head off more Arab corruption and at least to reach the point of possibly dealing with Arab issues.

In this regard, AL-HAWADITH learned that a Gulf initiative, led by Saudi Arabia, will be undertaken within the next few days to initiate the work of the Arab conciliation committees, formed by the Casablanca summit conference, to clear the air before the Riyadh summit which the Kuwaiti foreign minister and others believe will not be held anytime soon, notwithstanding the fact that the countries which did not attend the Casablanca summit, led by Syria, did not oppose the Riyadh summit.

Saudi Arabia has adopted a position on the summit compatible with its customary moderate policy. It refuses to hold a summit in its capital that will cause more Arab divisions. It is trying hard to create better conditions among the conflicting parties and to sort out Arab objectives into positive points of departure whereby the greater Arab interest overrides personal interests.

On the economic level, the 16th session of the GCC foreign ministers meeting discussed the European Economic Community decision to impose customs duties on GCC petrochemical exports. The ministers agreed that this measure contradicts the nature and objectives of the dialogue scheduled to be held this month between the GCC and the EEC and does not contribute to creating a climate conducive to trust and mutual benefits between the two sides. The European decision was thought to "encourage trade protectionism, which is harmful to the two parties' common interests."

The EEC had adopted a decision to impose duties of 13.4 percent on Saudi methanol and on polyethylene shipments just as it had imposed oppressive tariffs on Kuwaiti melamine.

The Gulf ministers discussed the matter of holding a brief ministerial meeting with the European side to define measures to be adopted by the GCC to confront the European position and, consequently, to define the future of economic relations between the two sides.

Although the Gulf group is keen on developing its economic relations with its European counterparts, it nonetheless refuses to meet with them without prior agreement on its objectives and content.

To emphasize that, the GCC general secretariat this summer dispatched Ma'mun Kirdi (a Saudi) to concerned European capitals to hold official contacts to lay the background for the dialogue and negotiations expected to begin this month between the two sides under the chairmanship of the current session's chairman in each group.

Should these talks fail, Gulf circles deem it likely that GCC countries will impose similar customs duties on all European products, something the European countries are trying to avoid.

A prominent Gulf official described the proposal that Minister Gunsher presented as one "demonstrating growing world confidence in the GCC and European interest in this organization only 4 years after its creation."

Finally, GCC ministers, at the conclusion of their meetings in Riyadh, agreed to hold the preparatory session of the sixth Gulf summit in Muscat on 27 October to prepare the summit's agenda, which many observers believe will be a new affirmation that the six GCC countries were aware of all the dimensions that brought down the slogan of Arab unity, regional cooperation and Arab togetherness and used them to lay the foundation of a Gulf unity based on a number of facts that have no room for flashy slogans at a time when the concept of practical coordination and cooperation has become irresistible.

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

ARTICLE DETAILS ALLEGED ISRAEL-IRANIAN ARMS DEALS

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 16 Sep 85 pp 29-30

[Article by Khayri Ghurrah: "Israeli Businessman Exports Electronic Equipment from Office in Bayswater Quarter in London"]

[Text] Why has Tehran permitted the return of those Iranian Jews who left the country during the shah's reign and why has it restored their property to them? What is the price the Israelis have paid in return? What is the role of Col Ya'qov Nimrodi, the well-known arms dealer, in David Sofer's arms deal?

Western information sources have recently circulated the report concerning the flow of Israeli arms shipments to Iran. But at the same time, these sources have neglected an important fact concerning Israeli-Iranian relations and pertaining to Tehran's contacts with Israeli arms dealers for the purpose of acquiring more modern weapons and spare parts, considering these dealers' firm connections with Israeli officials and with the owners of other weapons plants in western countries.

On the other hand, Tehran has permitted the return of those Iranian Jews who left Iran after the fall of the shah's regime and has restored their property to them. This has been confirmed to the Israeli MA'ARV by a Jewish-American businessman who visits Tehran frequently because of his commercial ties with Iranian firms. The American businessman has confirmed that the Iranian authorities are currently interested in the return of businessmen, merchants and, particularly, doctors to help it improve economic conditions at home and facilitate its trade deals with Western and U.S. circles.

The initial signs surfaced last August when a British commercial firm, with offices located in the Bayswater Quarter in London and owned by David Sofer, a 36-year-old Israeli businessman, was accused of acquiring electronic equipment designed for military use for another British firm which then exported the equipment to Iran. This was the second operation carried out by David Sofer in the interest of the Israeli authorities within a year, considering that a memorandum issued by the U.S. Department of Justice at the end of last year accused Sofer of smuggling military equipment, including radars and night-vision military equipment, from the United States last October with the help of two partners, one an Israeli and the other an American who owns stock in a U.S. firm with offices in Chicago.

What is important is that Sofer is linked by firm ties to Col Ya'qov Nimrodi, an international arms dealer who is the past held the position of Israeli military attache in Iran for 13 years prior to moving on to private business and supervising the marketing of Israeli weapons in Iran and South Africa. U.S. Jewish organizations circles do not exclude the possibility that Colonel Nimrodi is one of the Jews who returned to Iran recently. His relations with officials in Tehran were not interrupted in the wake of Khomeyni's assumption of power. It is to Nimrodi that the credit goes in organizing the shipping of Israeli weapons to Iran. Nimrodi has met secretly with Iranian envoys in both Bonn and Paris and informed U.S. circles believe that he also acted as a middleman with his Iranian acquaintances to organize the arms-smuggling operation carried out by Sofer and referred to in the memorandum of the U.S. Department of Justice.

It is well-known that Nimrodi is tied by strong relations to Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Navon and Ariel Sharon and that when Sharon was minister of defense he facilitated for Nimrodi the sale of weapons to Iranian and international circles. This is something which Sharon himself admitted and which angered the U.S. administration. Because of these relations, Nimrodi stayed next to Sharon throughout the litigation initiated by the latter against the U.S. TIME magazine and footed a large part of Sharon's financial bill.

Observers in Stockholm do not find it unlikely that Nimrodi has a connection with the scandal concerning Bofors Company plants--a scandal which surfaced recently in the wake of leaked reports that the company concluded secret deals in the past 2 years with Syria, Iran and Ethiopia and that it exported eight boats equipped with guns and surface-to-air missiles, explosive materials and chemical weapons. These observers believe that Bofors Company officials made other contacts to conclude contracts on similar deals with Israel, Libya and South Africa.

Important sources in the British Lloyd's Insurance Company have confirmed the accuracy of these reports--a confirmation which forced businessman Klaus Ulrich Finberg to resign his post as chairman of the Swedish Businessmen's Committee because the smuggling operations took place while he was head of the Bofors Company, especially since the military transactions were concluded without the government's knowledge. Officials of the Swedish Ministry of Defense submitted false names of the circles to which the weapons were supplied. In the wake of the strong official Swedish protest and of the revelations about some secret documents pertaining to the smuggling operations, it became evident that most of the weapons shipments carried the name of Egypt for the purpose of camouflage and that the contracts for the weapons were concluded with one of the company's Austrian clients, who unloaded the weapons at a West German port and then shipped them from there to Iran, Syria and Ethiopia.

The credit for Nimrodi's rising position belongs to his broad military background and his closeness to all the leaders who have held important positions in the Israeli Ministry of Defense. In the late 1950s, Nimrodi was an officer in a paratroop unit commanded by Sharon at the time. Nimrodi turned down the post of military governor of Samaria and Judaea proposed to

him by Sharon when the latter became minister of defense in the second Likud cabinet and preferred to continue his work as an international middleman for the sale of arms. Nimrodi calls his company in Tel Aviv the "Nimrodi International Foreign Trade Company" whereas his main company offices in London are only identified by the initials I.D.E.

Nimrodi's latest commercial activity is embodied in the implementation of two important projects: the first is the construction of nuclear-power plants in Israel with an international investment of \$300 million and with the participation of Jewish financiers Bob Guccione, the owner of the dissolute PENTHOUSE magazine; Saul Eisenberg, an Israeli businessman whose commercial dealings are concentrated mainly with China and other southeast Asian countries; and Al Schwimmer, an ex-director general of the Israeli aeronautics industry. Yuval Ne'man, an Israeli ex-minister of science, welcomed the idea of the project which he sees as a "serious Jewish endeavor to encourage Israeli nuclear capabilities."

Nimrodi's second project concerning the Taba area enjoys official government approval. Nimrodi plans to gain "commercial" possession of the Taba area with the participation of Arab businessman Adnan al-Khashoqji, who has close personal ties with Nimrodi as a result of their activity in the sphere of the international arms trade. The project calls for setting up joint companies and plants in an endeavor to settle the Taba crisis. The Israeli information media talked a lot during July last year about Nimrodi's efforts to arrange a secret meeting in New York between al-Khashoqji and Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, who welcomed the Nimrodi-Khashoqji initiative concerning Taba even though al-Khashoqji later denied such a meeting.

In an interview with HA'ARETZ, Colonel Nimrodi did not hesitate to reveal his efforts in selling arms to Iran, saying: "What is important is that this operation bring benefits to Israel. Should somebody ask me today whether it is necessary to continue selling arms to Iran, I would say yes. What does it matter to me if the Iranians kill the Iraqis. On the contrary, this is in the interest of Israel. I say this loudly and without shame...."

The fact is that the content and objective of these statements are in line with Israeli official statements, expressed by Sharon openly and highlighted recently in a study symposium organized by the Shiloah Strategic Studies institute of Tel Aviv University on the issue of the Iraq-Iran war. The importance of this symposium is reflected in the identity of the experts and politicians who took part in it, most of whom belong to the Studies and Planning Institute of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This institute was founded by David Kimche, the former general director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, after moving from his previous position in the Mosad. Most of the participants in the symposium, particularly Uri Lubrani, Israel's former representative in Tehran, and David Kimche, viewed with satisfaction the benefit Israel reaps from a continuation of the war, asserting that the "continuation of this war without either side defeating the other is the ideal solution for Israel."

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

DETAILS ON MIGRATING WORKERS IN OIL COUNTRIES REVIEWED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 6 Sep 85 pp 56-57

[Article: "Season of Return From Oil Countries; Only Highly Skilled Will Survive"]

[Text] The return home of 100,000 Egyptian and 25,000 Tunisian workers from Libya in the last few weeks stimulated many political commentaries, especially on Egyptian-Libyan and Tunisia-Libyan relations. The phenomenon of workers returning from oil-producing Arab countries, however, was more general and universal and not confined to a single country.

The fact is that ever since oil prices began shooting up in October 1983, the Arab countries that produce this substance have been experiencing growing waves of Arab and foreign workers going to them to contribute to the process of building and construction which was in full swing. Whereas historical coincidence in general made the Arab countries which produced the greatest amount of oil the least populated, the historic chance to acquire quick wealth did not escape many of those who tried to make the most of it.

The seventies were the season for migration to where the oil is. Nowadays, the bells of a counter season, the season of going away from oil, are tolling. Why?

The main reason has to do with oil as well. It is traceable to a fall in oil prices and to lower production by OPEC countries and smaller quotas for the Arab countries and, consequently, fewer revenues. Oil prices, which hit \$34 a barrel in 1979, have fallen to the current price of \$27-28 a barrel. From the production standpoint, Saudi Arabia, for instance, whose production reached 10 million barrels a day [bpd] in 1979, is now producing 2.5 million bpd. Libya, which used to produce over 2.5 million bpd in 1980, is now producing no more than 1 million, according to the latest statistics. In the language of figures, this means that Saudi Arabia, whose balance of payments registered a record surplus of \$40 billion in 1981, ran up a deficit of \$18 billion in 1983 and \$12.5 billion in 1984.

Libya, whose oil revenues totaled \$20 billion in 1980, also fell back last year to about a third, or \$7 billion. The same story is true, albeit to a lesser extent, with regard to the other oil-producing Arab countries.



This drop in revenues of the oil-producing countries has brought about a state of clear economic stagnation with two prominent results: the first is the effort to do without that part of the labor force which went there during the oil rush and the second is the attempt to replace a certain number of foreign workers with local elements who have finished their studies or training at home or abroad.

But who makes up the labor force to be laid off?

A World Bank study said that the number of workers going to the main labor-importing Arab countries was over 1.6 million in 1975, of which 65 percent were Arabs; 4.3 percent Iranians; 12.8 percent Pakistanis; 1.3 percent South-east Asians; 8.8 percent Indians; and 8.8 percent other nationalities. The study estimated that the number of migrant workers could go up in 10 years, namely 1985, to over 4 million if rapid economic growth in these countries were sustained and to about 3.4 million workers in the event of slow growth.

Of course we must go by the slow-growth figures because the last 4 years at least have been marked by economic stagnation. But even if we apply these figures, it must be noted that the percentage of non-Arab migrant workers in the labor-importing countries has surpassed that of Arab workers. While Arab workers comprise 48.4 percent of the total foreign labor force, non-Arabs comprise 51.6 percent. This means that the last 10 years brought about a change not only in the size of the migrant labor force but also in its composition as well.

The laying off of all or part of the migrant labor force will not hit everyone with the same force or at the same time. According to a study by Dr Muhammad al-'Awad Jalal-al-Din, most Asian workers are concentrated in the construction sector while Arab workers are more valuable in government agencies and the service sector. Consequently, economic stagnation will hit the Asians before the Arabs, but the process of replacing migrant workers with local employees will also hit the Arabs. The number of Asian workers employed by contracting companies has in fact dropped sharply and even Egyptian and Tunisian workers who are being deported from Libya belong to this group of unskilled laborers active in the contracting sector.

It seems that the layoffs of skilled or specially trained laborers will be gradual. While the process of building the infrastructure (airports, ports, dams, etc.) is almost completed, skilled labor will remain in demand to undertake the necessary maintenance to keep various factories and projects in operation. Dr Jalal-al-Din expects the demand for teachers to drop as well because Saudi educational institutes, for example, are turning out growing numbers of Saudis who wish to join the teaching profession. To absorb these people, these countries must stop bringing in teachers altogether or at least reduce their number.

As for highly skilled workers, it seems that they will not be affected in a negative way, but, on the contrary, there will be a growing demand for them. The demand for "doctors, their assistants and medical and health technicians will continue to grow because local elements are not expected to be able to

move into these jobs easily. This means continued reliance on the main labor-exporting countries to provide these cadres." (See Table 1.)

Layoffs of some migrant workers in oil-producing countries will not hit all Arab labor-exporting countries with the same force. Table 2 shows the distribution of Arab labor by dispatching and host countries for 1980, according to a study by Dr Ibrahim Sa'd-al-Din and Dr Mahmud 'Abd-al-Fadil entitled "Movement of the Arab Labor Force" (Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies). The table illustrates one general fact which demonstrates the importance of terminating the work contract of some nationalities working in Arab oil-producing countries which bring in migrant workers. This fact is related to the concentration or dispersion of a labor-exporting country's labor force in labor-importing countries. While the Egyptian labor force is distributed in the Iraqi, Saudi, Libyan, Kuwait, Gulf, and Jordanian markets, the North Yemeni force is concentrated mainly in Saudi Arabia. This means that the North Yemeni labor force is almost totally dependent on the Saudi market, whereas the Egyptian force is more evenly distributed over a number of markets. Hence it is more vulnerable to blows resulting from the closure of any of these markets in its face. This is what actually happened when Libya decided to lay off about half of the Egyptian labor force on its soil. This was a blow which Egypt may be able to absorb, albeit with some difficulty. As for Tunisia (its statistics are not included in the table), most of its labor force is concentrated in Libya. Consequently it is now facing a more serious crisis than the one Cairo is facing.

What effect has the return of workers to their home countries had?

There are two basic views on this problem. The first believes that the economic effects will be extremely negative due to the fact that remittances by workers in oil-producing countries represent a large portion of the hard currency the labor-exporting countries need to maintain their balance of payments and to finance import activity. The second focuses on the positive aspects of this return and believes that it will put an end to the tight labor market at home brought about by such labor migration and therefore will help lower the cost of skilled and unskilled labor and end the shortage this sector has suffered for the last 10 years. The advocates of this view go even further. They are hoping that this partial or complete return of migrant workers will lead to a boom in domestic investment. They say that the returnees will bring in money which they will want to invest in one of the well-known economic sectors: agriculture, industry, or services.

Actually, it is not possible to predict which direction events will follow. But it must be pointed out here that the outcome will not be the same in all the Arab countries awaiting the return of their migrant citizens. The matter depends on the economic policies the host countries adopt. The real question is: Will the returnees' money and savings be used for consumption or investment? A well-thought-out policy must be made available to make domestic investment a winning proposition for the returnees. Not only can such a policy realize substantial profits for the returnees, but it can also render the likelihood of further national economic development a definite possibility. The danger, the compounded danger, is to push the incoming money toward

Table 1. Labor Force Going to Main Labor-importing Arab Countries in 1975 and 1985 According to Profession

Profession	Number of migrants	Percent	Number of migrants	Percent increase	Number of migrants	Percent increase	Rate of increase
Professional/technical occupations	43,500	2.7	158,800	4.5	148,100	4.8	240.4
Other professional occupations	95,400	6.0	353,400	7.1	234,600	7.5	145.9
Subprofessional and technical occupations	54,300	3.4	173,700	4.9	163,600	5.3	201.3
Other subprofessional occupations	66,600	4.2	207,700	5.9	191,100	6.1	186.9
Skilled, clerical and manual professions	271,900	17.0	609,200	17.2	523,700	18.1	107.3
Semiskilled, clerical and manual professions	313,300	19.6	653,700	18.4	590,800	19.0	88.6
Unskilled professions	755,800	17.1	1,491,900	42.0	1,222,000	39.2	61.7
Total	1,600,800	100	3,548,400	100	3,113,900	100	94.5

Table 2. Influx of Arab Labor According to Dispatching and Host Countries for 1980

Country sending labor	Host country										
	Saudi Arabia	Libya	UAE	Kuwait	Qatar	Bahrain	Jordan	Oman	YAR	Iraq	
Egypt	250,000	250,000	22,100	105,000	5,750	1,350	70,000	6,300	4,000	342,000	
YAR	500,000	--	5,400	2,650	1,500	380	--	120	--	--	
Jordan and Palestine	140,000	6,500	19,000	55,000	7,250	270	--	6,500	2,000		
PDRY	65,000	--	6,600	7,000	1,500	--	--	120	--		
Syria	24,600	15,000	5,800	21,000	1,000	--	3,600	600	1,000		
Lebanon	33,200	5,700	6,600	12,000	750	400	1,200	1,500	500		
Sudan	55,600	21,000	2,100	2,100	750	50		620	2,250	27,000	
Arab Maghreb	500	--	--	450	--	--	--	120	--		
Oman	10,000	--	19,400	1,100	1,150	1,500	1,600	--	--		
Iraq	3,250	--	1,200	17,000	--	40		--	--	21,500	
Somalia and others	8,300	5,000	5,000	4,600	--	200		400	10,670		
Total Arab Labor sent	1,090,450	368,800	93,200	229,000	19,650	3,790	76,400	120,030	20,420	369,000	
Total Asian Labor sent	153,000	124,000	385,108	115,500	37,120	69,950	14,300	80,100	5,300	84,700	
Total (for above chart):											
Egypt	YAR	Jordan and Palestine	PDRY	Syria	Lebanon	Sudan	Arab Maghreb	Oman	Iraq	Somalia and others	
1,056,500	510,050	261,500	80,220	72,600	61,850	84,470	77,000	33,150		23,900	
Total Arab Labor Sent: 2,282,740											
Total Asian Labor Sent: 1,069,078											

the consumer channels, as has been the case so far. The reason for this compounded danger is that returning money cannot be regenerated and if it cannot be invested in productive fields, it will raise the rate of inflation in the coming few years, thus causing a tremendous stagnation when it runs out.

For example, a field study conducted in Cairo showed that over half (54 percent) of the savings of Egyptian teachers on loan to Saudi Arabia is spent on household and personal consumer goods, while 30 percent is put in bank accounts and only 16 percent goes to investment.

Therefore, there is a great need to reverse the formula and set up investment companies in the private and public sectors to enable small and medium savers to invest the major part of their money in order to curb consumption on one hand and to contribute to national growth on the other. Only then can the return of migrant workers be considered a blessing rather than a curse.

12502/9365

CSO: 4404/19

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

SOCIAL IMPACT OF OIL BOOM EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 18-24 Sep 85 pp 31-33

[Article by 'Awni Bashir: "'Arabs Without Oil' Symposium: Social Consequences of Oil Boom"]

[Text] In the fourth part of "Arabs Without Oil," colleague Dr Muhammad al-Rumayhi discussed the social and psychological consequences of the drop in oil revenues. Dr al-Rumayhi is a colleague by virtue of his being the chief editor of the Kuwaiti Al-'ARABI magazine. Dr Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim, general secretary of the Arab Thought Club and a professor at the American University of Cairo, examined Dr al-Rumayhi's paper from an opposite angle.

Dr al-Rumayhi said: It is nothing new to say that 1970's were the Arab oil era and that the period from 1973-81 saw enormous leaps in oil prices, rising from \$2.9 to \$34 a barrel in October 1981, when the chain of relative decline started.

These rapid leaps changed the political, economic and social map of the oil-producing countries and their impact extended beyond the borders of the producing countries to include the entire Arab area.

The major effects of the oil revenues are reflected in the Arab member states of OPEC with their small populations because they are the least populated and they have the highest level of production and the biggest reserves. These countries produce two-thirds of OPEC's output and the volume of the foreign assets owned by these six states by 1981 amounted to \$300 billion. As a result, numerous balances in the area were overturned, including in the area of human emigration. Whereas emigration used to be from the desert in the direction of the sea coast in search of better living conditions, the picture has been reversed and the emigration is now in the opposite direction. The second balance overturned is the one in which the Gulf states once relied on the lines of cooperation with their Arab sisters, whether in terms of labor grants or educational grants with fully paid salaries or in terms of the accommodation of Gulf students for education or training. With the emergence of oil, the Gulf states turned into an enormous pole of attraction for Arab labor. The third balance is the one in which the Gulf states suddenly found themselves in the middle of the international political game and strategic balance whereas they before had been small societies. But the most important product of the oil era continues to be

the division of the Arab countries into rich oil producing countries and poor non-oil producing countries. This division has been accompanied by a number of political, social, economic and cultural phenomena which have interlocked to create and extremely complex psychological condition for the area's inhabitants.

The first of these phenomena was the enormous propaganda preparation for the enormous rise in prices and production and for the dream of wealth falling on the citizens of the producing area--a dream to which the Western information media contributed "purposefully" and the Arab information media "unwittingly." The oil-producing countries tried to move in the direction of developing the infrastructure (roads, services, education and hospitals.) Several fundamental features distinguishing that period can be observed. The most important of these features are:

1. Monetary expansion and financial inflation.
2. Disappearance of the conventional production sectors.
3. Growth in consumption and increased reliance on imports.

#### Shadows of Wealth

The enormous revenues which were reaped by the oil-producing countries and which cast their shadows on the non-oil producing countries had to create social and psychological changes and consequences which can be observed in the following:

1. A rise in the individual income level which created a state of dependence and of disdain for manual and productive work.
2. Parasitic activity resulting from the citizen's disinclination to work. Permits were obtained in the name of the citizen for the benefit of a foreigner in return for a commission because of the citizen's disdain for work.
3. Despite the dimensions of Arab emigration, this emigration has not resulted in entrenching the concept of pan-Arabism, except at the level of certain groups with a special and distinguished scientific education.
4. A slow pace of growth and development in the non-oil producing countries as a result of the international crisis which accompanied the oil era versus ease and prosperity in the life of the oil-producing area and the spread of the consumption pattern in this area.
5. Transfer of the consumption pattern of life by the Arab newcomers to their native countries upon their return from the Gulf area.

6. Remittance of the savings of workers in the oil-producing countries to their native countries, with this remittance reaching the point where one-third of Egypt's hard currency revenues in a certain year was generated by such remittances.
7. The development of real flabbiness in the social ladder of the labor exporting countries.
8. The flow of labor to the oil-producing area had a negative impact on the labor-exporting countries where labor wages rose, costs and prices increased and labor became scarce.
9. The oil shadows extended to affect the economies of the Arab non-oil producing countries through three channels:
  - A. Aid and soft-term loans.
  - B. Aid and loans on commercial terms.
  - C. Government savings deposited by the oil-producing countries with the central banks of the Arab non-oil producing countries to bolster their borrowing position in the international money market.

#### Lost Opportunities

The 1980s did not start well. As of the first months of 1980, all the signs heralded a decline in oil prices. This was due to numerous reasons, some of which were political resulting from the collaboration of the consumers and others resulting from disagreements within OPEC itself and from failure to abide by a single price and by a certain production level, as well as the other well-known reasons.

The year 1982 was the first year in which the Arab countries with a surplus experienced a deficit in their general budgets. The Arab oil-producing countries began to discover the way to make up for their deficits by borrowing from their reserves. Since then, these countries have been preparing future directions and policies to tackle this danger, in addition to taking a number of measures to deal with the immediate consequences of the drop in oil prices.

In fact, the Arab area has witnessed a large-scale debate since before the onset of the 1980s on the question: what comes after the oil? What have we done with the oil? In this regard, two schools of thought have emerged:

The first can be called the school of lost opportunities and reflects a tendency which believes that the oil era provided money and good economic opportunities which, had they been exploited in a well-studied and planned manner, could have produced at the development level and could have yielded good results.



The second school is closer to logic and rationality and can be called the constructive school. It believes that economic growth has actually happened and that this growth is reflected in a number of socioeconomic manifestations at the same time. The impact of these two schools appeared in the thinking of the administration in the Arab oil-producing area when the early signs of a drop in revenues appeared. The oil-producing countries cannot touch the investment spending which is channeled toward financing a number of basic projects, they cannot touch the appropriations for the housing plans that are designed to provide housing for their citizens and they cannot disregard appropriations for the development, renewal and maintenance of the infrastructure (roads, sewerage networks, water). They cannot do this because there is a standard of civilization and services which the citizens are unwilling to relinquish.

The oil era succeeded in enhancing the level of civilization, as we have already pointed out. This has not been confined to the increase in the average individual income, which has reached in the Gulf states its highest level worldwide, but has gone beyond these indicators to others. The average per capita energy consumption has risen from 700 kg of coal a year to 1,458 kg. The significance of this figure becomes obvious when we realize that this average figure for 4 oil-producing states represents one-half the average per capita consumption in the industrial group of countries, amounting to 18 countries, where the average annual per capita consumption in these densely populated countries is 3,893 kg of coal. If we examine the other indicators, we will find that the rate of actually enrolled students amounts to 97 percent of the total number of students in the elementary stage whereas it amounted in the past to 48 percent of the total, that this rate amounts to 45 percent in the secondary schools whereas it amounted in the past to 13 percent and that rate amounts in the colleges to 8 percent whereas it amounted in the past to 2 percent. The standard of medical services has also risen and there is now 1 doctor per 1,810 persons instead of 1 per 8,920 persons and there is 1 male or female nurse per 1,860 persons instead of 1 per 5,810 persons.

I do not imagine that the oil-producing countries can relinquish this qualitative and quantitative development in the performance and delivery of services.

Similarly, we cannot disregard the consequences of the world economic crisis, whether to the oil-producing countries or to the non-oil producing countries. No country, whether an oil-producing or non-oil producing country has escaped the contagion of inflation and of the rising prices of foodstuffs. The fluctuation in the prices of international currencies made no distinction between rich and poor. The only difference was in the dimensions of its effect and impact on the economies of the Arab countries.

Within this framework with all its particulars, I don't imagine that it is difficult to predict the social and psychological consequences of the drop in oil prices, some of which are already looming on the horizon:

1. The first consequence is an intricate structure, each part of which will lead to another consequence and which will ultimately lead to a real and tangible result.
2. The drop in the number of workers will reduce the size of the force boosting the market, i.e., will reduce the demand, considering that the newcomers, especially the Arabs, represent an enormous input to the total force of demand. This will have an impact on the continuation of the state of economic stagnation.
3. The consequences will deter merchants, agents and representatives from continuing their uninterrupted imports, thus creating a relative balance between exports and imports.
4. As a result of the drop in the flow of labor and of the consequences emanating from this stagnation, a considerable number of natives will begin to look for work opportunities far beyond the service activities. This represents the start of a change in the view toward work.
5. What is certain is that the oil-producing states have plans and studies on rationalizing spending. One of the most significant provisions of this rationalization is embodied in reducing the spending on services. What is proposed is to levy fees on services, such as medical care fees, educational fees, increased tariffs on water and electricity consumption, telephone service and transportation fees, fees for the acquisition of presentation of official documents and so forth.
6. This means that the social services that are available to all, both citizens and newcomers, will undergo a drop in both quality and quantity.
7. The rationalization of spending and the reduction of labor are tied to a reduction of the number of incoming teachers and this means a reduction of the number of school classrooms and a reduction of the number of students enrolled in universities.
8. Social restrictions will become more flexible. The restriction expected to be most likely eased is the restriction on women's participation in work at a broader level and in larger numbers and on the entry of women to the field of work on a large scale.
9. The tendency to be careful and not to go to excess.

#### Beyond Borders

Just as the shadows of wealth extend beyond the borders of the oil-producing countries, the coming phase will also cast its shadows on the non-oil producing countries. It is my belief that the shadows of the coming phase will fall within the following framework:

I. Concerning the drop in the flow of labor--a drop whose early signs have come in succession since the summer of 1983 when the UAE terminated the contracts of 25,000 workers and when Kuwait dispensed with the services of 6,600 employees--these signs and the strict restrictions imposed on the entry of new workers will be reflected in the labor-exporting countries as follows:

1. A larger volume of skilled labor--labor which has been emigrating so far--will become available in the market of the labor-exporting countries. If the necessary flow of capital is not secured to create work opportunities for this labor, its presence will create a social-economic-political problem. These labor forces will ignite the market prices, even if the supply exceeds the demand.
2. An enormous number of technocrats and of support laborers will become available. This number is increasing steadily because there is a constant flow into it from the universities, the technical schools and among those returning from the Arab labor market.
3. We cannot separate the impact of the above two points from interaction with the consequences of the economic crisis being experienced by the labor-exporting countries--consequences beginning with the decline in the exchange rate, with the rise in prices, with the rise in the inflation rates and with the increase in the volume of imports, in comparison with the exports, and ending with the structural flaw in the production sectors, i.e., a real development crisis.
4. Added to all these consequences is the drop in the flow of the free currencies remitted by those working abroad to their native countries.
5. All these factors will push the struggle in the labor-exporting societies to the maximum possible limit. These socioeconomic consequences will interact with the chronic problems, such as the housing crisis and, consequently, the marriage crisis, the standard and quality of services and the high prices of the private sector's services.
6. The other level at which the shadows of the coming phase will become evident is embodied in the volume and kind of aid and loans which the oil-producing countries advance to the non-oil producing countries, especially aid and soft-term loans used for financing commodity imports. There is no doubt that this aid and these loans will be affected negatively and this means affecting the ability of the non-oil producing countries to meet their basic needs.

#### Ibrahim's Comment

Dr Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim commented critically on Dr Muhammad al-Rumayhi's paper. It is Dr Ibrahim's opinion that the issue of the psychological and social consequences of the drop in oil revenues is a broad and comprehensive topic to which Dr al-Rumayhi has not confined himself but rather has taken the trouble of discussing several aspects. These are the aspects which Dr

Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim tried to discuss in his comment. Dr Ibrahim believes that the Arab countries' oil revenues are still high, amounting to \$13 billion in 1984, i.e., six times the revenues of 1972. However, the problem is not in the revenues but in the prices and in the price-setting decisions. Prior to 1973, the prices were set by the industrial countries, meaning the West. The Arab oil-producing countries then gained control of the prices and continued to set them for an entire decade. In 1982, the control shifted again from the hands of the Arab countries to the hands of the West.

Dr Ibrahim believes that the Arabs had not been prepared for the 1973-74 price shock, which was a pleasant shock. However, the Arabs quickly acclimatized themselves to this shock psychologically. Rather they became addicted in the late 1970's to expecting still higher prices and thus turned toward an astounding rate of public and private spending. The possibilities of quick enrichment with the least effort or by right of birth in the oil-producing countries became achievable, even for the citizens of the non-oil producing countries who flowed into the oil-producing countries. As a result, numerous mistakes were made, investments failed and the Arabs wasted a lot because they had not prepared themselves socially, psychologically and economically for such big revenues.

If the Arabs had not been prepared for the shock of higher prices and increased revenues in the early 1970's, they also were not prepared for the shock of the decline in revenues in the early 1980's. Sociologists assert that acclimatization to a rising standard of living is easier than acclimatization to a declining standard of living. This is because rapid enrichment and the big oil revenues made people forget their past occupations. The farmer has forgotten agriculture and how to till the land, the bedouin has forgotten how to tend livestock and the foreman, i.e., "the capable supervisor" overseeing foreign workers, has also forgotten how to perform this job should these workers depart.

The governments of the oil-producing countries will have to do a lot of psychological persuading of the citizens who have become accustomed to a high standard of living and to free services. Now that the oil cake has diminished, the competition for it will intensify. Therefore, spending and services must be rationalized and regulated with the necessary laws or even by levying some taxes. The segment that will suffer most is the segment of people with a limited or low income.

The other problem facing the oil-producing countries is the problem of foreign labor. Whereas these countries can get rid of a small part of this labor easily, it is difficult to get rid of the major part of this labor because it has been concentrated in the oil-producing sectors and has become part of them, especially since there are now first and second generations born, raised and living in the oil-producing countries and with no other places to go to, such as the Palestinians, for example. We have recently seen the ugly face of this phenomenon in Europe with the Turkish workers and others where they are subjected to acts of violence because of racism and

racial fanaticism. This is at a time when foreign workers represent no more than 10 percent of the European work force at any time whereas foreign labor in the Arab oil-producing countries amounts to 80 percent in some cases.

On the other hand, in the Arab non-oil producing countries, the situation will be more serious and painful. Loss of the remittances of expatriates from Jordan, Yemen, Egypt, Sudan and Tunisia will have a strong impact on the fundamentally shaken economies of these countries. In 1984, the debts of these countries amounted to \$40 billion and these debts are rising steadily. Add to these countries Morocco, South Yemen and Somalia. Besides the loss of remittances, these countries face the problem of absorbing the labor returning from the oil-producing countries, keeping in mind that some of these returnees have set up their private projects and business. But the majority wants work and employment and this will not be available due to the lack of capital, of advanced planning and of the necessary rationalization.

Some Arab critics see in the enormous monies that have fallen on the Arab countries a "masked curse". But such a judgement is very harsh. The oil-producing countries have achieved a lot with these revenues, building important infrastructure projects, expanding the education, health and social service sectors and saving and investing nearly \$300 billion in the 1970's.

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CSO: 4404/3

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

TASS ROUNDUP ON USSR ECONOMIC PROJECTS WITH MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES

LD241239 Moscow TASS in English 1109 GMT 24 Sep 85

["Economic News Roundup"--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS--The TASS economic news service reports:

There are growing business ties between the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia. According to the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the USSR, two-way trade rose almost by 30 million roubles during the first 6 months of this year as compared with the same period of last year to reach 183.9 million roubles.

Although Soviet purchases in Saudi Arabia exceed so far Soviet exports to that country, the Soviet export list to Saudi Arabia is extremely varied. Thus, in recent years, various Soviet foreign trade organizations supplied their partners in Saudi Arabia with machinery, equipment and transportation facilities. These included metalcutting machine tools and press-forging plant, drilling rigs for geological prospecting, hydrogeology and engineering geology, passenger cars, pipes, and sawn coniferous timber. In the past year Soviet exports to that country were dominated by building materials, cement in particular. The volume of deliveries neared 13.9 million roubles.

Saudi Arabia exports chiefly fuel and raw materials to the Soviet Union.

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--Selkhozpromexport, a Soviet foreign trade organization, is cooperating with organizations of many countries and giving them technical assistance in building, specifically, grain elevators and grain storages. Many such installations have been built with Soviet assistance in Arab countries. In Sudan, for instance, Selkhozpromexport took part in building grain elevators capable of storing at a time a total of 150,000 tons of grain. One of the elevators was built in Al Qadarif. Under a contract signed with Sudanese organizations, a group of technical specialists will be sent to Sudan to help operate the grain elevator.

X X X

--Zapchastexport, a Soviet foreign trade organization, supplied the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in 1985 with a batch of spares, worth 0.5 million roubles, for Soviet-made diesel-engine trucks.

In 1984 Soviet deliveries of truck and garage accessories, spare parts and components totaled 1.8 million roubles.

--The USSR and Libya are cooperating in oil industry. Thus, Soviet organizations took part in drilling production wells at the Sarir-Mesla deposit. Moreover, a contract between the Soviet and Libyan organizations provides for the expansion of drilling operations involving the use of two more drilling rigs. Further Soviet-Libyan cooperation in this industry is going to be in the joint preparation of projects for developing oil deposits in Libya, a TASS correspondent was told at the Ministry of the Oil Industry of the USSR.

X X X

--The Soviet foreign trade organization Tekhnointorg is to supply Morocco with a batch of domestic machines in the current year under a contract signed with Moroccan organizations. The contract involves, specifically, "Chaika" sewing machines, washing machines of various models and other Soviet-made domestic machines.

/12766

CSO: 4400/28

EGYPT

WAFD PARTY OFFICIAL SEES NO DANGER IN DEBTS

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 6 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by Sharif Jaballah: "Dr Ahmad Abu Isma'il: Debts Pose No Danger to Economy for Following Reasons"]

[Text] Dr Ahmad Abu Isma'il, chairman of the Wafd Party Economic and Fiscal Committee, told AL-SIYASI that Egypt's loans have not reached the critical stage because the burdens of servicing them and making the payments are still within the safety zone. He also said that remittances by Egyptians working abroad are not an end in themselves for the goal is to transfer these savings to productive investments.

He added: "It is necessary to increase exports by the agricultural and industrial sectors and to raise the efficiency of the tourist sector. Current resources depend primarily on remittances by Egyptians working abroad and on oil, the Suez Canal and tourism. These resources have been subject to severe fluctuations, as demonstrated by oil prices. To base resources on a strong foundation, it is necessary to depend on two main commodity sectors--agriculture and industry--and to raise production efficiency, lower production costs and improve quality while rationalizing the consumption of oil and its by-products and raising their prices to reasonable levels. This is because the severe drop in prices encourages wasteful consumption at a time when we ought to be increasing our exports and limiting local consumption.

"With regard to imports, they must be rationalized. This is especially necessary with regard to wheat exports because using wheat as fodder leads to waste and it is unreasonable to sell wheat at home for less than hay because this encourages farmers to plant wheat varieties that yield more hay and less wheat, in addition to using wheat as fodder due to its low price.

"Furthermore, the importation of other goods and services must be rationalized, especially modern equipment which has become very popular and which breaks down easily.

"Steps adopted for counteracting the balance-of-payments deficit and for augmenting the balance's funds are integrated measures which must be implemented all at once."



He also said that foreign debts are necessary for economic growth because they are used to supplement our savings to finance more investments. There is nothing to fear from foreign borrowing so long as loans are used for the development of productive capacity and for raising the efficiency of the economic structure and so long as their terms are reasonable, particularly with regard to interest rates, duration and the grace period.

Egypt's foreign loans have not reached a critical stage because the burdens of servicing them and making the payments are still within the safety zone with regard to commodity exports. The debts to be feared are those used to finance the purchase of consumer goods or economically useless projects that do not lead to a greater basic-production or export capacity.

[Question] How can an ideal economic policy be achieved?

[Answer] Such a policy is based on the rationalization of economic tools such as the price system, including interest rates, better use of resources, a higher standard for employed technology and a higher standard for project management. This is in addition to rationalizing consumption, acquiring arable land and pushing the development wheel forward.

[Question] What are the most important issues the party plans to raise in the next parliamentary session?

[Answer] These issues are under consideration by specialized committees, but the party will focus on the issue of taxes, housing and landlord-tenant relationships.

12502/7051

CSO: 4504/26.

ISRAEL

POLICY ON NUCLEAR, BIOLOGICAL, CHEMICAL WARFARE OUTLINED

Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew 21 Aug 85 p 37

[Text] Israel's policy as regards nuclear, biological and chemical warfare is strictly defensive. The enemy's aggression on this issue, on the other hand, is well known: it suffices to glance at the Iraqi-Iranian war where the Iraqis have employed mustard gas and other nerve gases.

True, the nuclear threat against Israel has been removed for the time being, especially since the nuclear reactor in Iraq was destroyed. The biological threat, though still also rather theoretical, is also near deployment, as is the nuclear threat. The chemical threat, though, is very much alive. Senior officials assume that if and when a war breaks out between the IDF and regular Arab forces, Israel is likely to suffer a chemical attack of one kind or another. The commander of the Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Warfare unit of the Engineering Corps, Colonel S. is trying to be calm: "In my opinion the threat of chemical warfare is not as bad as is generally thought, because our forces are well equipped and trained."

The theory of defending against chemical warfare has been revised in the last 2 years and it is now based on personal defense for the soldier and his equipment. Each soldier has a nuclear, biological and chemical personal defense system which includes a mask and a nylon screen to avoid injury, as well as a medical kit. In addition, the day is not far away when each soldier will be equipped with a new uniform.

The IDF's defense approach in this area is very well developed and advanced. There are those who believe that a nuclear, biological or chemical attack is like a genie in a bottle, and that when it emerges it will not be controllable. Other officers insist on careful and sufficient training and therefore their units are capable of going on with all their functions even under the most severe chemical attack.

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CSO: 4423/4

ISRAEL

## INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN LIKUD EXAMINED

Tel Aviv BAMAHAANE in Hebrew 7 Aug 85 p 15

[Article by Dudu Margalit: "Out of Three, One Leaves"]

[Text] The session of the central committee of the Herut movement, and acceptance of the decision of uniting "Le'am" and "Herut," caused the war between the camps of Shamir-Levy-Sharon to become more extreme. Hanan Krystal tries to bet on the right horse.

At first glance the question at hand was the union between "Herut" and "Le'am." The central committee of "Herut" which assembled to discuss this at the beginning of the week was split in its views. Minister David Levy and his supporters opposed it. Yitzhak Shamir and Arik Sharon supported it. In fact, this was another test of strength in the series of tests among the leadership of "Herut." The war of succession came close to peaking.

When Yitzhak Shamir brought up the topic for a vote, pandemonium broke loose. David Levy gave the sign with an attack on one of the veterans of the movement, former Knesset member Menachem Bader. His supporters mounted the platform and attempted by force to prevent the voting from being carried out. In the midst of great confusion, the voting took place and the unification was approved. This was a blow against David Levy and his camp.

What will happen during the continuation of this? Will this session bring the Herut movement to a parting of the ways? No, thinks political commentator Hanan Krystal. "I don't believe this, despite the fact that utterances on this have been heard from all sides. I believe that this can bring about formal factionalism within Herut, as exists now among the Liberals. The factionalism would be anchored in the constitution and will generate factional elections. This is not enough for a split. In a split there is needed another element besides strong personal disagreement, and this is the element of ideological disagreement. A disagreement like this does not exist now, not concerning Judaea and Samaria, not about the Taba incident and not about anything connected to society and economics. That is to say, there is no difference in values between Shamir, Sharon and Levy. Beyond this, in the event of a split all of them will lose. There will be no rotation and no faction will be as large as the Alignment. But with all this one mustn't forget that there are desires."

- What are the strengths of the groups today?

Since the departure of Menachem Begin there has been no decision. There are three groups--Shamir, Sharon and Levy. Always when two groups work together they constitute a majority. Shamir and Sharon were against Levy in the first conflict and Levy was defeated. Shamir and Levy were against Sharon in the second and Sharon was beaten. After the government was formed it appeared that there was formed a tactical connection between Sharon and Levy against the appointment of M.K. Dekel as deputy defense minister and in fact Shamir did not bring up this proposal for discussion, even though as a result of this the Alignment has three deputy ministers and the Likud has only two. The alliance this week of Shamir and Sharon made it possible for Shamir to bring up the proposal of union and to succeed.

[Question] what are the arguments that David Levy has against the central committee?

[Answer] Since elections have not been held in the Herut movement since June 1979, David Levy has the feeling that the present central committee in which he has suffered many defeats no longer reflects the true proportions of power but rather the proportions of power which were existing when he was still housing minister. This is the reason why he wants to have decisions made in the conference because he believes that there his situation will be better and he will gain a majority at the expense of the veterans of the movement, most of whom are veteran Ashkenazim who support Shamir.

[Question] When will the conference take place?

[Answer] The central committee decided to hold the conference by the end of this year.

[Question] And what is expected there?

[Answer] This is the important question. In Herut there takes place personal elections, only this time they are already working as a party of informal factions and in every branch they will arrange elections and sign agreements according to camps and groups so as to establish the representatives of the branch. This begins to be comparable to the Labor Party in its conference in 1980, which chose representatives according to factions.

[Question] That is to say, are we coming closer to the moment of decision of who really is the leader?

[Answer] Yes. The proportions of strength at the conference will show who is the strongest of all.

[Question] Do you have an estimate?

[Answer] It is very hard to estimate. I can only say that the appearance of David Levy at the central committee session lost him points in this struggle. The violence that was demonstrated at the session will work against

him like a boomerang since in Herut there are many people who are "floating" between the factions and anyone who does not belong squarely to the camp of Levy will hesitate to support him after the events at the central committee. In sum, I think that even after the conference there will not be one person who will be able to store up enough strength so as not to need the support of someone else.

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ISRAEL

CRUDE OIL, REFINED PRODUCT IMPORT FIGURES NOTED

Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 21 Jul 85 p 20

[Article by Rami Moreg: "Fuel Imports This Year Total Just \$1.2 Billion  
--This Year's Oil Expenditure Lowest Since Oil Crisis of 1979]

[Text] According to forecasts, Israel will spend \$1.2 billion this year to purchase fuel from suppliers abroad. This will be the smallest outlay on a relative basis since the oil crisis of 1979 and in real terms the expenditure in foreign currency will be identical to the years preceding the 1979 crisis.

Expected consumption of crude oil and refined products in 1985 will reach 6.8 million tons, which will be supplied in part through imports and the balance from stockpiles in accordance with the recommendations of the public commission headed by Gen (Res) Aharon Yariv which studied the subject.

The barrel prices of crude are likely to change significantly, in line with the 1985 downward trend in prices. According to first estimates, the price of a barrel FOB for the first half of 1985 comes, on the average, to \$26.50, with further reductions anticipated.

The policy of the Ministry of Energy is to assist in increasing Israeli exports to countries from which crude oil and coal are purchased, with the target to increase exports by \$500 million within 2 years. The ministry uses the leverage of its oil and coal purchases to achieve reciprocal purchases from countries involved. According to this policy, an agreement was recently reached with Mexico according to which Mexico would make purchases of at least \$100 million dollars a year in Israel. Contacts are also being initiated with other countries concerning the purchase of oil or coal against goods and services from Israel or against an increase in Israeli exports to those countries.

12884/12955  
CSO: 4423/2

ISRAEL

AGRICULTURAL MINISTER ARYEH NEHAMKIN PROFILED

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 5 Jul 85 Weekend Magazine pp 4-5

[Article by Yaron Elyosef: "Labor's Right-wing Standard Bearer"]

[Text] Someone once tried to portray a string of right-wing standard bearers. Sharon from the Likud, Rafi from the Tehiya and Arik Nehamkin from Labor. Inherent in this comparison is the difference between Nehamkin and the others: Nehamkin is from Labor. The Labor Party has fixed its limits to the right to the breaking point. But Nehamkin is not a deviant or a mutation. He is a legitimate product of the Labor movement. He grew up and matured within it and his views represent the views of large, organic blocks within it. Thus, he was able to stand before the members of Kibbutz Dalia who oppose his views and say: Please, take a poll in the [Jezreel] Valley, look around in Dalya, in Merhavia, in Mishmar Haemek and in Hazorea and you will see how many supporters my views have.

Nehamkin has a biography typical of a member of the Labor movement: childhood in Nahalal of the 1930's; a typical "Nahalal" education; 10 years of study interrupted for participation in the Hagana and the disturbances of 1939; participation in the War of Independence as a member of Battalion 89 under the command of the "neighbor's son," Moshe Dayan; command of a patrol which maintained "the Palmach spirit"; and years of agricultural work on the farm. In the 1950's Nehamkin was recruited to assist in the training and guidance of moshavim for new immigrants and spent 3 years in Brosh and Tidhar in the Negev. Afterwards came politics.

As a politician, Nehamkin never left the Labor Party or its offshoots. He went over to Rafi in 1965 with Dayan and returned to Labor in 1968. One member of the Knesset, one of the most prominent in the Labor movement, told me that Nehamkin is a shining example of the process which the Labor movement is going through today. The movement today, he said, is an agricultural nationalist movement. From this view, Nehamkin is an unruly weed which dominates the entire field. The movement cannot ignore the responsibility for its survival, and must draw the proper conclusions.

It is impossible to differentiate between Arik Nehamkin the farmer, the moshav member, the public servant, the commander, the politician and the minister. They are all interwoven. The profile which follows was created

by Avner Milman from Merhavia, comrade-in-arms Yochanan Kehani from Gevat, Herzl Meziah and Ari'el Seneh from Nahalal, Hanan Crystal (political commentator) and Yohanan Aharoni (Jonny), the secretary of the moshav movement from the shortchanged side--a pleasant young fellow with a master's degree in economics from Moshav Behari in Jerusalem whom I came to after Ra'anana Na'im said that he has a complete file on Nehamkin which the time is not yet ripe to make public. And Arik Nehamkin himself--through the dozens of newspaper clippings devoted to him through the years.

#### My Wife Votes for the NRP

In December 1981 the right-winger was quoted as saying that since the heads of the West Bank towns had their legs cut off, there has been quiet, that Arabs only understand when you boil fear into them. In July 1982, Nehamkin ran to the press to state that the moshav movement fully supported the war in Lebanon. In an interview with HATZOFEH he went further and called for the dismantlement of the Alignment. In the summer of 1983 he again called for the dismantlement of the Alignment. At that time he supported enthusiastically the establishment of a government of national unity under Shamir. "To the left, we have scraped the bottom of the barrel. There is nothing more to look for there," he said, disappointed after Mapam decided once again to remain within the Alignment. Nehamkin derived satisfaction from HATZOFEH. The compliments he received there he didn't even receive from his best friends.

In December 1981, Nehamkin said before a session of the Knesset Finance Committee: "Socialist education leads to irresponsibility in Israel. The country's best young people wear skull caps." In the Alignment they were angry and the press called him "the righteous one from Nahalal." Only HATZOFEH hurried to provide a platform for "the socialist Knesset member who riles against socialist education." Four years before Rabbi Peretz, Nehamkin said: "Not economic prosperity but spiritual prosperity is the key to the problem. What is the young person without Jewish values left with--the street, crime, drugs, prostitution? Everyone knows that within religious circles, even with 10 in a room, they don't end up with a bad crowd." In the end, Nehamkin added a bonus: "My wife votes for the National Religious Party."

When he first came into office, Nehamkin met with the wives of the members of the Jewish Underground. The press screamed: "A minister in the Alignment is a member of the lobby for members of the Underground." In an interview with Yediot Aharonot, Nehamkin qualified his remarks--he isn't a member of the lobby, but he isn't one of its critics either. In general, Nehamkin differentiates between Jewish and Arab terrorists. "We have people who deviate from the norm, but there is also an element of remorse." While the madmen from the PLO brag about their murders, Nehamkin saw a large measure of remorse among the Underground detainees. This remorse, Nehamkin feels, is worth many years of detainment. In an interview with moshavnik T., Amos Oz presented a profile of the typical moshavnik. Ari'el Seneh from Nahalal didn't read Amos Oz, but the description he gives of Nehamkin comes almost straight out of the book: Arik is a basic moshavnik. With us, results are what talk. You have only what you achieve. To achieve something, you have



to work by yourself. With us, there aren't two avenues--either you have it or you don't. In order to establish a state, you have to conquer the land and do things which are not pretty. With him it isn't just talk. What you attain, you attain through force and you only have what you do for yourself. Beautiful words won't help. What we achieved in Israel, we achieved solely through force, with all the attendant ugliness.

From this emerges a "security" attitude toward war and peace. Nehamkin, like Dayan, is a clear "securityist." But whereas Dayan kept one pragmatic eye open, Nehamkin is a "Dayanist" with two eyes closed. At a forum on boundaries and security held in October 1980, Nehamkin said: "We have no right to any piece of land other than what we need for our security. But security needs are a right, and nothing is more important than them. The red line is what threatens Israel. I don't believe that we can compromise on the Jordan River boundary. The present boundary there is the red line. I am not interested in 1 million Arabs becoming Israeli citizens, but I don't know how you transport them to Jordan." Nehamkin opposes the Golan Law (it is anti-security) and sees no purpose in settlements in built-up Arab areas. But he shudders when asked about dismantling these settlements. Bet Hadassah, for example, "is a problem which remains with us from a period of different policy. I have no alternate solution."

#### Basic Peasant Simplicity

Arik ideologically and politically is a representative of national agriculture. As it turns out, Arik, as a man and as a public servant, is one of the better-liked senior Labor politicians.

The beginning of June 1985. The Minister of Agriculture arrives for a visit among the moshavim of the Jezreel Valley. On the agenda: quotas for raising sheep for milk. During the undisciplined days of Gruper, farmers invested millions of dollars in raising sheep. Today there is a need to limit the quotas. Nehamkin arrives in a Peugeot 504, dressed in grey pants with a patch in the rear, an open light blue shirt and sandals. The farmers try to be polite and invite "the honorable minister" into the living room, but Nehamkin heads straight for the animal shed. He speaks and the lambs lick his legs. He talks with the farmers directly, clearly and to the point. His Hebrew is clear and direct but unadorned. The farmers are troubled with difficult problems with which he is familiar. Nehamkin doesn't need to listen to their stories, because he is familiar with them from his own personal experience. He expresses his view and the farmers accept it.

Generally, it is the Ashkenazim and adherents of the Alignment who say nice things about Arik Nehamkin: Arik Nehamkin is a straight and simple person, pleasant to talk to. He lives modestly, but doesn't flaunt his modesty. He is very close to people, senses their problems immediately but doesn't tend toward emotion. Arik radiates a fatherly sympathy. He never intimidates. He is unbelievably straightforward and will only address matters about which his position is clear and formulated. He will always say what is on his mind sharply, sometimes despite political pressures. He is fair, of high intelligence, with good analytical ability and farsighted. In meeting the

serious agricultural problems left him by his predecessors, he starts out from the present, never reverting to disparaging them. In the army, he was a true friend. "When he asks how the family is, you know that he is truly interested." Arik will help friends in time of need. He is a charismatic commander and a fierce fighter. He has a fundamental peasant simplicity. He is a person who directly and stridently encourages respect for the worker in the name of his belief. A pity only, said many, that what he believes in is different from what I believe in.

Not everyone believes this. In Nahalal, Herzel Maziah, the same age as Nehamkin, said that he is a saint and a genius. A saint whose work is done through others, and a genius because he will always find someone who will do the dirty work for him so he will come out clean. "He is fundamentally evil and enjoys doing evil," said Maziah. If what follows sounds like dirty neighborhood gossip, it is because Nehamkin always leaves the dirty work to others, said Maziah. He has been trying to catch Nehamkin in the act for years and has a file full of documents replete with suspicion and bitterness.

There is the case of Gen (Res) Musa Peled (former head of the armored corps, Nehamkin's direct commander and a member of Nahalal) who went to the Greek Isles on vacation. At that time there were two Nahalal members who sold tainted meat. Peled met Knesset member Shulamit Aloni at the beach and told her about the matter. It was brought to the attention of the police and dealt with immediately. Thereafter, Peled received a letter which contained a threat that if he did not recant his accusations, the threatener would make public matters which he knew about Peled and were likely to cause him embarrassment. Peled picked up the telephone and told Nehamkin straight and to the point that if he did not see to it that the letter was returned to the sender and the threats ended, Nehamkin could consider his political career over. The letter was returned to the sender.

To this day the moshav executive is controlled by Nehamkin, said Maziah. Though he has no official position at the moshav, it always turns out that he benefits from the executive's decisions.

"Rafal Is a Numbskull"

Nehamkin began his military career in Battalion 89 of the Palmach, under the command of Dayan. In one of the battles near Ramle, he lost an eye. Thereafter, he went to officers training school. Most of Nehamkin's military service was as the commander of the patrol of Brigade 9 at Sharm al-Shaykh during the Sinai Campaign, and in Jannin during the 6-day War. During the Yom Kippur War, he served as a battalion commander of a reserve unit in the Golan Heights. His army comrades in arms are apparently still willing to follow his leadership. "Arik was a charismatic commander. We never had commands or complaints. Arik never gave an order. If he said, gang, we're leaving at 5:00, he expected one thing: acceptance of the assignment and its completion. If you couldn't handle it, it was your responsibility to let him know. That aside, Arik worked according to the Palmach system. With us it was assumed that you didn't mount a moving vehicle, that you

cleaned your weapons and that you didn't fall asleep while waiting in ambush. The big punishment was simply to be removed from the unit. Arik never wore stripes. He was an equal among equals and a friend among friends. For many he served as a father figure and they approached him with almost every problem." From Arik, tells Avner Milman from Merhavia, I learned how things work; I learned that we, from the kibbutzim, were not necessarily the best bunch of guys, that there are other groups no worse than us. "I arrived at the company as a farm kid, with narrow horizons, and Arik opened many doors for me."

Several stories about Arik, the company commander: "During the 6-day War, we captured some police building near Nablus. We received an order to evacuate refugees from there. Arik went to the general staff and told them that our unit was not prepared to carry out the assignment. He told them to bring in another company to do the work." "One time in training, there was a certain kibbutznik we didn't like. We went to speak to Arik. Arik called him aside and told him that he was leaving the unit. I don't know you, Arik told him, but I have confidence in our guys." "Once Arik caught soldiers eating apples which they had picked from one of the orchards. Without a trial or any other niceties, he simply beat them up."

As a fighter, Arik was daring, in control and careful. The unit still remembers how he broke through booby-trapped and mined fences at Sharm, and how he went straight into machine gun fire at Jannin. Still, there was always the feeling that Arik could be followed quietly. In 1974, Arik Nehamkin, then a battalion commander and the secretary of the moshav movement, was quoted as saying, "During the Yom Kippur War, the senior command was filled with people who could not stand up to the pressure and fell apart. Dado was marginal. He wasn't suited to be chief of staff." About Rafel he said: "He is a real numbskull (afterward he said, 'like a numbskull'). He can't put two words together. When they begin to shoot, his eyes glisten and he becomes smart. When the war is over, he has to be replaced, he can't control 100 men." And "I don't like Bar Lev. He only does what's good for Bar Lev." Later he recanted and said that Bar Lev is a straight and decent man.

#### Disputes Between Families

Nehamkin traveled a long road in the moshav movement until he became a member of the government. During the 1950s, he guided moshavim for new immigrants in the Negev. Later, he was secretary of the economic committee of the movement. Between 1971 and 1981 he was the secretary of the movement and in 1981 he became a member of the Knesset. In 1984 he was appointed a minister. In the moshav movement, said Jonny--Yohanan Aharoni, secretary of the moshav movement--they (the veteran moshav delegates) have been in power since the state was established. The entire movement was managed according to their needs. In the beginning of the 1970's, I was a candidate to manage a purchasing organization. Arik supported me. Later, the system became clear: Arik created disputes between individuals and factions in order to ensure his dominance. He played me against Zakai, he put Yekuti against Ra'nan Na'im and Yitzhak Nehemiah against Aharon Uzan. Throughout his reign there was the feeling that the veteran moshavim were favored. They started

out first with better means of production than we had and as things progressed, the means of production flowed from our farm to theirs. Our small settlements couldn't stand up to the crisis, and the production subsidies were transferred to their settlements. To this day--with milk, fatlings and flowers--this is the case. Nehamkin is leading the movement toward polarization instead of toward unity. I thought that he represented all the moshavim, but he, to my great surprise, represented only his faction's side." In an interview with MERHAV in 1970 Nehamkin explained: "Those who come from eastern countries are implanted with an extreme degree of individuality. This makes it very difficult for them to manage the collective successfully." Fourteen years later, in an interview with AL HAMISHMAR, he said: "There are still such people. This segment of the membership puts a heavy burden on the moshav." Jonny is angry: "They were always responsible for education in the moshavim. Every failure in education is theirs. I think that the veterans have a racist attitude which expresses itself in superiority and arrogance. We in the new moshavim had expected that with the passage of the years, after we became more bourgeois and went through the process of acculturation, they would relate to us as equals and not as their subjects. Since the Kfar Vitkin Conference (where the representatives of the new moshavim met and relieved the representatives of the veterans of all their duties in the movement) it has been impossible to obtain majority-minority decisions in the moshav movement," said Jonny. "They threatened to split, and our leaders, in their stupidity, didn't put them to the test. We wanted to make agreements and in fact we capitulated to them."

Nehamkin benefits from this surprising situation to this day. On the eve of the elections in 1984, the Hadar-Nehamkin faction went up against Raanan Naim, Yechezkel Zakai, Nissim Zvili and Yochanan Daniel. Every world behaves according to its own custom: Zvili and Na'im join forces to put an end to Zakai, who needed 60 percent of the votes of the Central Committee because he had already served two terms. Thereafter, Zakai and Zvili join forces in order to bring Ra'nan Na'im down to the third position in the moshav movement. Shimon Peres comes and finishes the work by placing Naim in an unrealistic slot. There are those who tell the story differently, but the fact remains: the leaders of the veteran moshavim fight with one another and Nehamkin benefits. This continues after the establishment of the government of national unity: Ra'nan Na'im goes around with the feeling that Peres promised him the agricultural portfolio. Zakai and Jonny organize a delegation to visit Peres and ask him to nominate...Nehamkin. Na'im boils and loses in the vote against Nehamkin. Our consideration, said Jonny, was cold. We wanted a minister to our way of thinking. He was the only one with any chance. Ra'nan Na'im had no chance at all against Perlmutter of the United Kibbutz Movement. We made an agreement with Nehamkin, he told us, and he committed himself to bring us into the management--to give us a director general and to establish an authority to rehabilitate the moshavim. We only received the position of the director general of Mekorot (Yehezkel Zakai). Today we have the feeling that we made an error, because he is breaching the agreement. We made a mistake in supporting Nehamkin without a clear agreement. The veteran moshav block continues to deceive us. In the future we will change our conduct.

## Returning to Quotas

In the party sphere, Nehamkin is considered a staunch Peres man. During the long opposition years, Peres used to convene a forum of supporters every morning in his office. Staunch Peres loyalists participated in these meetings: Shahal, Edri, Harish, Shepeizer and Nehamkin. When Navon contended with Peres before the party Central Committee, he saw how Nehamkin lined up with Peres and promised him that the moshav movement stood at his command. Similar moves by Shepeizer and Edri caused Navon to alter his view. Peres, friendly with Nehamkin way back to Rafi days, knew to reward him and place him in the Ministry of Agriculture.

In the government, Nehamkin is held to be a fair man and there is great respect for his honesty. In the Alignment he is looked at as a professional, not a political, minister--exactly as was Yisrael Katz with Begin. You will never hear Nehamkin offer an opinion in political or state matters. A thousand witnesses will testify to the fact that Nehamkin has not appeared even once on the "Moked" [television] program.

In the Ministry of Agriculture they breathed a sigh of relief when Nehamkin arrived. After Gruper, Nehamkin is perhaps the best thing that happened to agriculture. He immediately presented a clear socialist-centrist view. The end of liberalization, he said, a return to the days of planning and allocation. The farmers breathed a sigh of relief. Nehamkin is the man best suited to the job, one farmer told me. He has a superior analytical ability and he is able to look several steps ahead. He understands the need for agriculture to become more efficient and improve in the face of the entry of Spain and Portugal into the European Common Market and the free trade agreement with the United States. Nehamkin is a planner, is very sensitive to organized marketing and is working hard to restore monitored quotas to agriculture, with preference to the settlements of the Jordan Valley, the Arava and then Golan Heights. He feels that they are entitled to a cheaper price for political and security reasons.

Nehamkin devotes special attention to milk quotas. Milk consumption in Israel has risen over the years and he wants to pass along the additional quota to the moshavim, and especially to the moshavim in trouble, so that a dairy farmer can support himself with dignity and stability. In general, within budget limitations, Nehamkin is doing just about all that can be done for agriculture, and at times he doesn't hesitate to buck the Ministry of the Treasury on fundamental issues. From the point of view of his agricultural activity, Arik Nehamkin is a pure socialist. A system of production and planning quotas, regional protection and a belief that water and land must always remain in the hand of the state (he thus also opposed the sale of the Ata land) have always been the line of the labor movement.

Arik Nehamkin is today 60, a product of the labor movement and a good minister. Members of his generation are losing their places in society.

Last week Amos Hadar resigned as head of the moshav movement. In the next elections the "new" moshavim will celebrate their victory. They will remember Nehamkin in the Labor Party as a bitter lesson. Nehamkin opened the door in the wall between the Labor Party and the nationalist right and this door will continue to open.

12884/12955  
CSO: 4423/2

ISRAEL

ENGINEERING CORPS COMMANDER INTERVIEWED

Tel Aviv BAMAHANE in Hebrew 21 Aug 85 pp 36, 38

[Text] Brig Gen Yehuda Cohen, Engineering Corps commander, assesses the situation, in preparation for Engineering Corps Day. On the agenda: Lebanon, budgetary cutbacks and all the rest. All told, the bottom line is positive. There are 85 in the Engineering Corps who know that the IDF cannot do without them. The sword moves with its head first. There is talk like: "We are no less important than the Golani [Brigade] or the paratroopers."

In this spirit, with cutbacks taken into account, of course, plans for the future are being laid out. The planners, though, do not put aside thoughts about the past. The immediate past. Lebanon -- at least as far as the Engineering Cosps is concerned -- is not a closed chapter yet. An interview with the Engineering Corps commander cannot be held without touching on the question of Lebanon. Without shaking up the sediments. The wounds are still open.

"Our Lebanese chapter started a year and a half before the war broke out. We constructed an infrastructure of roads there, outposts, bridges and other preparations. When the war started our mission was to determine the pace of movement. This is not my definition, but that of another commander who told me, "The spearheads determine the pace." Our people were on all fronts - from companies to battalions, their job was to facilitate tank movement. When we faced the Syrians, there were mine fields. Along the shoreline, in Qasimiyah, there was only one path. We were asked to construct a bridge. The following night the tanks could use the bridge."

[Question] What was the most difficult and dangerous part from your point of view?

[Answer] The most difficult and tiring part was to sit in Lebanon, where we were charged with defending the remaining forces. In Beirut the tanks were exposed. It was necessary to provide adequate defense. The Golani and the paratroopers were in Lebanon. It was necessary to provide them with minimal security against artillery, mines, etc. The most difficult phase was when the terrorists resumed laying mines. Here, in my opinion, was our major success: I consider defusing bombs and neutralizing and exploding them to be our main thrust. The next phase was the withdrawal.

[Question] How, indeed, did you manage to keep up with the tight withdrawal schedule?

[Answer] Fortunately, we foresaw this tight schedule. Six months prior to the withdrawal we met with the Northern Command and prepared files for each road, tunnel and building. We were therefore not surprised when the directive was issued and we accomplished almost 95 percent of the goals.

[Question] Why not 100 percent?

[Answer] Because it turned out that, for economic reasons, some items were not worth taking apart. We took apart everything that was deemed worth it and transported it back to Israel in good shape.

[Question] What percentage of the equipment was reusable?

[Answer] A relatively high percentage. We managed to salvage 60-70 percent.

[Question] What is happening on the Purple Line now?

[Answer] Construction on the Purple Line is guided by the realization that any terrorist success there will have tremendous repercussions because of the proximity to northern settlements. We have devoted tremendous resources to prevent the infiltration of car bombs.

[Question] Have you succeeded?

[Answer] We did all that we could. What delays matters now is the private contractors who take advantage of the situations and are demanding exorbitant prices. We are examining the option of completing the construction ourselves.

[Question] One last question about Lebanon. It seems that Lebanon made quite a contribution to enhancing the image of the Engineering Corps in its own eyes and in those of the IDF. Is there any reason to exclude this issue, as is done with the IDF as a whole, or is there a reason to glorify this war?

[Answer] On the operational level, Lebanon made quite a contribution. Officers who worked with our soldiers praised them, saying they work like paratroopers. We were expected to be everywhere, even when it was beyond our immediate mission. The fact that we did it just as well as other forces, contributed to the ability, the self image and to the morale. It would be obscene to say that we benefited from the war. We paid a high price with many casualties, especially officers.

[Question] Is there an increase in the number of volunteers?

[Answer] Before the war 25 percent indicated the Corps as their first choice. Now the percentage is 40.

[Question] Let's turn to cutbacks. Where will the Engineering Corps be impacted?



[Answer] Fortunately we will not be too impacted as far as our training program goes. We have to use live mines or use training sites which are not especially expensive. This is not where the big money is. The professionalism of the spearhead will not suffer. If I am concerned about anything it is the impact on some projects that are currently under development and are in their final stages. Those may be frozen when the acquisition phase is reached. There are some projects which I now know are a waste of resources. It does not pay to develop them. We will not be able to purchase the expensive equipment necessary.

[Question] You touched on development. What is your answer to the enemy's sophisticated equipment?

[Answer] It should be stressed that we are one step behind. The terrorists determine the site, the method and the timing. We--with this in mind--have to keep our finger on the trigger and respond fast.

[Question] Can you assess the Joint Field Command?

[Answer] It is hard to say. The Joint Field Command affected us from the point of view of development. I hope that in the long range it will be evened out when the four forces cooperate in the areas of warfare, development, equipment, etc. The fact that there is one commander for the four forces, which enables transfer of funds from the stronger to the weaker force, points to some progress.

[Question] Is the Training By Function one of the moving forces?

[Answer] Yes. The plan organizes activities by functions. It gave the Corps a general outlook. In the past there was a separation between field training and professional courses; today it is all integrated. Today, a recruit uses explosives 2 weeks after boot camp. The officers can compare and see that morale is higher.

[Question] Does nuclear, biological, and chemical warfare concern you at all?

[Answer] Nuclear and biological wars are not relevant. In my opinion we may encounter chemical warfare. There is no reason to panic. We have the equipment.

[Question] What is the reason for the panic?

[Answer] The problems of nuclear, biological and chemical warfare, as well as those of the Purple Line and economics, are solvable. The central problem has been and remains that of overcoming obstacles under fire. Everything else pales next to this problem. I hope our approach to this problem is correct and realistic.

[Question] And in summation?

[Answer] We have reason to believe that we have met our goals in the last year. Soldiers of the Engineering Corps should feel proud of their

accomplishments. We met a tight schedule, we avoided scores, perhaps hundreds, of casualties, and we are in the final stages of constructing the new line. Units of the Engineering Corps did much more than was expected of them.

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CSO: 4423/4

ISRAEL

NEW POLICY TO ATTRACT EMIGRES BACK TO ISRAEL OUTLINED

Tel Aviv BAMAHAANE in Hebrew 28 Aug 85 pp 8-9

[Text] In the past year 10,000 emigres returned to Israel. Most of them found employment in sophisticated industries and other industrial plants. Statistical data show that 95 percent of those returning make the adjustments and remain in Israel. Only 5 percent leave again. The new government policy was the subject of the interview given to the BAMAHAANE correspondent by the person in charge of the project in the Ministry of Absorption, advisor Yosi Kuchik.

The term 'yoradim' ["those who go down"] is what Yosi Kuchik uses. He does not make any attempt to substitute it with a gentler, more pleasant term. He explains the problems and the values associated with the term: "I do not accept the phenomenon of emigrating from Israel. I do not call them fallouts but I have no intention of praising them either. The attitude toward emigres is a complex one, not easily comprehensible, and there is a psychological problem in dealing with the phenomenon. Israel is the only country into which there is immigration ["going up"] and out of which there is emigration ["going down"]. We do not have the term "emigration" as do others. It is a unique phenomenon, and if I am not mistaken, except for India, which has recently started a similar program with its citizens who are abroad, there is no precedent for it anywhere in the world. The Israeli terms for immigration and emigration have a lot more emotional weight than the conventional words do. After the establishment of the state and after World War II it was expected that the phenomenon of the wandering Jew would cease. But in addition to the wandering Jews there now is another phenomenon, of no less concern, that of the wandering Israeli. Today 50 percent of the Israelis who emigrate were born in Israel, emigrating Sabras [native born] in the full sense of the word."

"We tend to call those who come back 'returning citizens.' This is what is written in all official documents. It is interesting to note that only the IDF maintained the stronger terms of 'emigrants,' 'children of emigrants,' etc. In my opinion this is not too important. It does not matter what these citizens of Israel are called, those who do not include themselves in any category of staying abroad. The point is that we are trying, in any way possible (!) to bring them back," says Kuchik.

After a thorough evaluation of the activities of the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption, Yosi sums up the new government policy. "This year, for the first time, Israel declared an official policy to help emigrants. Up to now many institutions dealt with the Israelis abroad, e.g., the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency. Today the Ministries of Absorption, Labor and Welfare and the Foreign Ministry are in charge, and they all cooperate with the Jewish Agency in an effort to bring back those thousands of Israelis. In other words, the policy maintains that emigration is not to be legitimized, no special benefits are paid, but, on the other hand, emigrants are not blacklisted and all who come back receive all the necessary help in an organized fashion. Israel cannot -- and this is not our goal -- compete with conditions, salaries and other opportunities overseas. We offer the homeland, the home, the Israeli-Jewish education, friends and Israeli society -- and if that does not mean anything for the emigrants, no benefits will draw them back."

As the interview continued Yosi Kuchik analyzed the need to convince emigrants to return, while recalling the first, Biblical emigrant--Joseph--who went to Egypt. Kuchik does not believe that the youngsters who left Israel and got "stuck" abroad have to be convinced to return. "There is no justification and I don't believe in the advantages of any p.r. activities to convince them. Every Israeli is familiar with conditions here. Our job, in my opinion, is to help only when an emigrant makes up his or her mind to try to return. From the moment he (or she) does not feel at home there, starts thinking at night, considers the possibility, looks for the Friday edition of the Israeli papers -- then we have to step in and show him the way back. There must be an organized way to find employment, to pack all those belongings and to try to readjust in Israel."

There is no doubt that in these days of economic slowdown there is an increase in emigration. But when this increase is examined over a longer period it turns out that after economic crises which raised the emigration curve for a short time, the total number of emigrants levels off. In the several 5 year periods since the establishment of the state, there has not been a real increase in emigration.

It is even more interesting to note that even now, in a period of economic problems and fear of unemployment, many returning emigrants can find employment. The number of available jobs for them is estimated in the thousands. For example: Israel needs 5,000 engineers and electrical engineers. The shortage in skilled labor today will have an impact on development and ultimately will cost Israel export markets. Sophisticated industries need these engineers badly. In the United States alone there are more than 8,000 emigrants with the needed skills. All they have to do is be "grabbed" by the Israeli firms, and thus help themselves and also relieve this bottleneck for Israeli industry. The solution will bring about the flourishing of technology here and will contribute to the country's economic welfare.

The Ministry of Absorption is well aware of these data and has planned several activities in an effort to bring back as many of those with the needed skills as possible. "In the beginning of November we are organizing a project to be

run simultaneously in New York, Toronto, Los Angeles and Palo Alto, in cooperation with companies like Tadiran, Elbit, Bazak, REFAEL, the Military and Aerospace Industry, Alisra, Kur Electronics and more. The companies will bring contracts which they will be able to finalize right there and then, along with conditions for return. The project, called "Face to Face," will enable a direct meeting between representatives of employers and prospective candidates. Each will examine the data, the skills, the working conditions and salaries. Both sides will consider and if they decide, a deal can be made on the spot. I sincerely hope that many contracts will be signed. After all, each contract is a returning citizen."

"Up to now returning citizens had to come to Israel, go from one plant to another and knock on doors. This project intends to present it all on a silver platter. In order to stress the critical need of these employers I can only state that companies are competing to participate. Each company is paying \$7,000 in order to participate, in addition to expenses. The project will be publicized in all the media in the United States and here, in order to enable families and mothers of young emigrants to mail them details on the project. In addition, in cooperation with Israeli television, a live show is being planned, to be telecast directly from Israel, much like want-ads. The project is to be called "homeward." This telecast will offer even more jobs and enable direct contact between Israelis abroad and companies here," says the advisor.

In addition to the 8,000 engineers there are more than 35,000 Israelis with college degrees overseas. Israel needs many of them. At the same time Yosi Kuchik does not hesitate to point out that the economic conditions in Israel will determine who will return and when. "There is no doubt that conditions make a difference. At the same time we are making special training courses available to returning emigrants so they can find employment. It should be remembered that it is costly to leave Israel, but coming back is no less expensive. The decision to return entails large expenses but my experience tells me that those who decide to come back are not deterred by financial problems."

#### Exploratory Trips

In addition to the one time "Face to Face" project, the joint delegation of the Ministry of Absorption and the Labor Ministry in New York has various programs for Israelis all year round. Among them are exploratory trips to find employment. First a resume is mailed through the delegation to companies and plants in Israel. When at least three positive responses are received asking for an interview, the delegation enables the emigrant to go on such a trip and provides a loan of up to \$300. If the trip ends up in a return to Israel, the loan is forgiven.

Yosi Kuchik considers publicizing the subject very important: BAMAHANE magazine is distributed to thousands of Israelis overseas and this kind of a report can provide them with a lot of information on the opportunities that Israel offers, on the institutions that help returning citizens and addresses of those who can help. "We intend to publish a booklet for returning citizens. This month all Israeli consulates have been given information kits with

directions for returning citizens and help available. The kit includes information and details on the new policy, data on how returning citizens ought to be dealt with, discounts in imports taxes, information on medical insurance, national insurance, taxes and foreign currency, military service and other up-to-date information. Reactions we have received from consulates all over the world indicate that the kit is very useful. Any emigrant has the right to turn to the consulate and receive the information. The consulates consider it a high priority item and devote a lot of resources for the necessary activities. In the meantime the most intensive activity to attract emigrants is taking place in the United States where more than 60 percent of the emigrants live. In the next phase activities will take place in Europe, Latin America and other countries where Israeli emigrants live."

Examination of data on aid given to returning citizens shows an upward trend in the number of those requesting it in recent years. Their number is approximately 2,000 annually. One should remember that this accounts for only 20 percent of those coming back. The remainder do not avail themselves of the Absorption Ministry's services and manage to take care of themselves. The Ministry of Absorption is trying to improve its services even in Israel. Shortly a representative of the Ministry will become part of the unit which deals with all those thousands of emigrants who are reservists. The intent is to help those who serve annually on their visits to Israel. The Ministry's representative will request these emigrants to fill in a form for additional information in specific areas which may be of interest to them. The information will be mailed to their overseas address. In the future an information booklet will also be distributed. It is currently being worked on in the Absorption Ministry. Obviously it is not possible to give any details on the number of soldiers and on their distribution in IDF units, but there is no denying that many emigrants are IDF veterans, some officers, in choice combat units. "I will not be exaggerating if I say that a whole battalion is now overseas," says Kuchik. "True, in emergency most of them rush to come back and serve, but why should they not contribute to the development of the state during economic emergencies?"

#### Why Do People Emigrate?

When the government decided to deal with emigrants the effort became two headed: first to bring emigrants back and then to prevent further emigration. One of the conclusions of the general managers of the affected government ministries says as follows: "The responsibility to combat emigration is on the shoulders of all ministries and all of Israeli society. The subject should not be considered the domain of only a few government ministries." These conclusions were presented after the Knesset committee received proposals to deal with immigration and absorption. "We ought to consider why people emigrate and treat the problem at its root in order to resolve it. Regrettably, the various ministries only pay lip service to the cause. No real decision and action are taking place. The failure to carry out section 9 of the Act for Veteran Soldiers is but one example for this conclusion. In any event, the main thrust in the fight against emigration should concentrate on those segments of the population which are most prone to it, especially that of veteran soldiers."

Recently some government ministries have started some activity to prevent emigration. The Defense Ministry hopes to intensify the activities of the division for employment for veteran soldiers. The division will increase the number of those directed to professional courses, to electronics and to pre-academic studies. In the past year the division has turned its activities to development areas in order to locate veteran soldiers who have not yet found employment, or are not in school. It formed ties with soldiers in needy neighborhoods. The Defense Ministry claims it lacks the budget to increase the manpower of the division.

In the IDF the chief education commander has been put in charge of the effort. The IDF education system has incorporated into its programs some indoctrination against emigration in all levels of command. In the future it intends to publish material on the subject. One of the major projects is dealing with soldiers just prior to their release with a motto: "Soldier, plan for civilian life." Several months prior to the end of service the rights and opportunities will be explained to those about to be released in order to facilitate their choice.

[Box on p 8]

#### Special Attention To Be Given to Veteran Soldiers

Yosi Kuchik explains that the Housing Ministry is also busy expanding housing opportunities. The Labor Ministry hopes to implement those relevant sections (6, 7, 9) of the Act for Veteran Soldiers. "The policy is not to discriminate against veteran soldiers, as compared with returning citizens, in order not to create a situation where emigrants get a better deal and better conditions than young citizens just out of service. The main thrust is to form proper legislation."

The Labor Ministry has recently increased the quota for professional training. The number is now 400 and they hope to reach 1,000 veteran soldiers. Among plans for the coming year: to enable some soldiers to lengthen their service with full pay and then absorb them in industry. Likewise, plans are underway to increase the number of veteran soldiers who take computer programming courses in development towns. Other, farther reaching plans are still being formulated in the Ministry of Education. There they are working on an overall plan for all educational institutions and they intend to get teachers active in a campaign against emigration. The basic goal is to implement the Law of Education literally: "To strengthen love of country and loyalty to the state and to the Jewish people." In the meantime various ministries are preparing to present this subject to one of the future government meetings. The plans are in place. The government is sincere in its intentions. But the main card is in the hands of the emigrants. Once they throw that ace card they can find out that they are the major winners in the game.

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CSO: 4423/4

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

REPORT ON ASSASSINATION OF JOURNALIST

FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 28 Sep 85 pp 8-9

[Article: "Martyr of Free Speech Michel al-Nimri, We Shall Continue to Write for Palestine"]

[Text] On Wednesday, 18 September 1985, they killed Michel al-Nimri because they could not bear the words of truth written by his pen in the well-known weekly AL-NASHRAH.

He was a man of truth who spoke the truth without fearing anyone's censure. Truth, however, terrifies the enemies of his convictions, and therefore they attack it as they attack its spokesmen: it was in front of the offices of his newspaper in a street in Athens that the murderers assassinated Michel al-Nimri.

Certainly, they are ignorant men, mentally backward. They reject dialogue except in the language of murder, for they know no other language. They shot Michel in the head because they are enemies of the mind, enemies of thought, enemies of dialogue and logic.

They are murderers, but they are dead men in the clothes of the living. They crawl on the earth with their hearts empty of feelings and the pulse of life, and so they finished off Michel by shooting his living heart after his head.

Some were surprised by Michel's assassination; Michel himself was not. He realized what depths the minds of the regimes had reached and how much they feared the plain truth.

Michel knew that the danger of liquidation pursued him and that his life would not be very long. Therefore, you felt that he was full to overflowing, eager to say in a single moment everything he had to say and to hang out all the wash he had on all the lines, all at once and all together, no matter how many colors there were.

He learned the journalist's craft and practiced it early in his life when he was still in the college classroom. He saw in journalism his instrument for expressing his convictions, political stands, visions, intellectual and



theoretical beliefs. He insisted that journalism must not know just one color or one form, whether it be free or engaged journalism. If today it is radical in order to establish a position, that should not preclude it being liberal tomorrow in order to polarize people around that position. This belief caused Michel more than one crisis in more than one workplace in which he practiced his profession.

He saw in Palestine the dream for which he struggled. In the fight for its freedom he saw his way to realize his nationalistic and progressive ideas of Arab cooperation in the defense of vital national interests. From an early age, he enlisted himself to join the ranks of the Palestinian revolution and to defend it by various means, on all the fronts, and through all the conspiracies to which it was subjected. Thus he reflected the Arab model in the national struggle for Palestine.

His understanding of the function of journalism and of his role as a journalist all but enveloped him in the characteristics of a man in opposition. He did not deny this, but he possessed an accurate compass that helped him define the right course in the right direction and that protected his tendencies toward opposition from being shamefully exploited. This was especially true when it came to sacred issues on the Arab scene such as the Palestinian revolution, Palestinian legitimacy and the cause of freedom and democracy in the Arab world. Michel was one of the honorable Arab journalists who rejected all enticements by dictatorial Arab regimes to side with these organizations against the Palestinian revolution and the PLO and to turn themselves into venal tools and subservient agents. This was especially the case when Michel published AL-NASHRAH as a voice and pulpit for the Arab and world opposition.

Michel realized that attempts against him by the regimes could not be allowed to pass without the announcement of a clear and committed stand. He sided with the truth, against the organizations and for Palestine--for the just right of the Palestinian people and for the PLO as sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and its leader in its national fight to realize its just rights as a nation and to establish an independent Palestinian state.

With his stand for a just Palestine and against the tyrannical dictatorial regimes, Michel went forward conscious of the danger that followed him. Never was it hidden from his mind that he would one day pay his life as price for this principled and noble stand.

A week before his martyrdom, he was in Tunis attending the convention of the Palestine Liberation Front at the invitation of the front. There he was full of life and energy, following developments and asking questions, staying up all night in discussion and conversation with the conference leadership, members and guest journalists. His desire was to reach a definite conclusion: How is it possible for those who reject conferences and the framework of legitimacy to speak for the Palestinian revolution and democracy? How is this possible for the Damascus groups of Palestinians by birth and language, whether they split from the Palestine Liberation Front or from other organizations, after what has taken place and is taking place in Lebanon and after this insistence on resorting and appealing to organizational legitimacy in evaluating stands?

Can anyone imagine that it lies within the ability of these people to breathe in a healthy fashion after this day?

On 10 September, Michel's secretary said, "Michel informed me that he would return from the conference bringing all the important documents about the conference and that these will be the main subject in the next issue of AL-NASHRAH."

One of the friends who was with Michel a few days before his martyrdom says that he sensed the closeness of martyrdom and the danger following him from corner to corner. He saw the suspected killers watching all his movements one by one and tracking him from street to street and village to village. When he entered a building, they would wait for him to come out in order to follow him to another place, and they would wait there hoping for an opportunity to be alone with him in order to practice their avocation of murder on him.

Michel said that the activities of hoodlums against him increased in severity and cruelty after he published in the last issue of AL-NASHRAH news of the attempted coup in Syria and of the imprisonment of a large number of officers after it.

Seeing his murderers and living in his enforced exile, what could Michel do? He had nothing with which to defend himself from their violence except his free and honorable instrument and his insistence on his principled stands until the final moment of his life. On Wednesday morning, [1]8 September 1985, he goes to his office. A hired murderer surprises him and fires the regimes' bullet into his head. Then he fires again, into his heart. The murderer runs away and escapes. Not a trace of him is found, except the descriptions of the eye-witnesses. According to news service reports: "He was a dark man with curly hair and was wearing a light blue shirt and gray pants."

Michel was man of commitment who came to journalism by way of politics. He used to assert that the most successful of journalists was the politician. Although the journalist is careful not to proclaim his real nature as a politician, there is a fine and almost imperceptible line between the journalist and the politician. The journalist gathers information in order to reveal it to the public; the politician gathers information in order to use it to advance a position or defend a position or idea. The information they gather unites them--and separates them when power is divided. The majority of politicians are built up by journalists; how much more so those politicians who themselves are journalists!

Michel was one of those politician-journalists who see in their profession a pulpit for the presentation of their ideas and stands and for putting them forward with boldness and courage and without fear of consequence, for he knew that life is an affair of honor.

Such indeed was Michel's position.

He announced his resolute commitment to Palestine knowing that the price of such an announcement might be his life; but like all believers in the

cause of truth, freedom and democracy, he would not withhold his life for the sake of Palestine.

With his living body Michel paved freedom's way to Palestine. He was one of her devoted martyrs. If the spirit of the earth cried out in joy as it embraced the martyr Michel's spirit in welcome, Michel, too, was joyful. As he faced the bullets fired into his head, he smiled; and as he drew his last breath he said: "I have confidence that the flag will not fall. The ink of honest and free pens will not dry up. Freedom's page will not be stained with black. Welcome to martyrdom! Ah, I want to be buried in the soil of my country. My spirit rejects exile."

Michel obtained his final wish.

His pure body was transported from Athens to 'Amman. It was accompanied by Khalil al-Zabn, a member of the council of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, representing the PLO and the union, and by the brothers and relatives of the slain man and a representative from the PLO office in Athens.

Last Sunday, he was laid to rest in a solemn funeral in which Palestinian political, journalistic, literary and social figures participated.

For 3 days afterwards, his relatives remained at their home in al-Mafraq receiving condolences from Michel's Jordanian and Palestinian friends.

It was another occasion for affirming Palestinian-Jordanian unity of blood and destiny.

Eternal life to you, Michel. A promise to you and a covenant: sleep in peace and be joyful, for we shall continue to write for Palestine.

The Martyr Michel al-Nimri

He was born in al-Hisn, northern Jordan, in 1948, and received his primary and preparatory education there. Then he moved to al-Mafraq with his parents, where he completed secondary school.

He completed his university studies in Italy.

He was a prominent student officer in the ranks of the Jordanian student movement.

From 1968, he was a member of the Palestine resistance and struggled in its ranks, living through the various stages of the conspiracy against the revolution.

The Palestinian and Lebanese press know him as an energetic and diligent journalist. He worked in the magazines FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH and AL-HURRIYAH, the Beirut newspaper AL-SAFIR, and the magazine AL-KIFAH AL-'ARABI. Then he served as editor-and-chief of the magazine AL-MAWQIF AL-'ARABI published in Cyprus.

During the 1982 Israeli attack, he contributed to the full extent of his ability, working at the [radio] station SAWT FALASTIN, the voice of the Palestinian revolution.

In Athens, he published the magazine AL-NASHRAH, concerned with Arab and world opposition movements.

He died a martyr's death on 18 September 1985, shot in front of his office by the bullets of the gangs of traitors.

The Union of Palestinian Journalists: "Expose the Murderers!"

Immediately after receiving news of the death on 18 September 1985 of Michel al-Nimri, editor-in-chief of the weekly magazine AL-NASHRAH published in the Greek capital, Athens, the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists issued a statement mourning his loss and calling on all free and honest pens to denounce terrorism and expose the murderers. The text of the statement is as follows:

The general secretariat of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists mourns the loss of the journalist and patriot, Michel al-Nimri, editor-in-chief of the magazine AL-NASHRAH published in Greece, who was shot by the enemies of the Palestinian people the morning of 18 September 1985 in front of his office in Athens.

The commission of this crime by the enemies of our people will not sap the strength of the writers and journalists who believe in the PLO and the justice of its struggle against Zionism, imperialism and the policy of containment.

We realized that the assassination of Hanna Muqbil last year on account of his having attended our union's conference in Sanda would not be the only crime to which our Palestinian writers and journalists and their comrades would be exposed at the hands of the enemies of our people and cause.

In mourning the loss of this beloved martyr and member of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, we call on all honorable writers in the Arab countries and throughout the world to denounce terrorism whatever its source and to expose the murderers whatever their identity.

We promise the late martyr that we shall continue in the line of struggle against fascism, Zionism and agents until our people and nation are liberated. Revolution until victory!

[Signed] The General Secretariat of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists. 18 September 1985.

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CSO: 4404/20

SAUDI ARABIA

UKAZ EXPLAINS SAUDI ARAB RECONCILIATION MOVE

PM172012 Jeddah UKAZ in Arabic 11 Sep 85 p 3

[Unattributed news analysis: "A Saudi Move To Face Definite Dangers Within or Outside the Framework of an Arab Summit Conference"]

[Text] The Saudi move in the direction of certain Arab capitals manifests the following three facts:

1. A continuation of the Syrian-Iraqi-Jordanian conflict makes Arab consensus an impossibility.
2. Israel is exploiting the current tension among the three Arab capitals and is very quickly exploiting that situation. It is now clear that the Israelis are preparing for a military move against Jordan.
3. Consideration of solutions or proposals for the settlement of the Lebanese question and the promotion of stability in that continuously explosive country is in jeopardy.

It is clear that no move, however strong, toward peace in these circumstances would ever achieve any practical result that would fulfill the Palestinian people's rights or lead to more stability in the region. That means discontinuation of such moves particularly because the U.S. administration and Israel are now convinced that results could only be achieved through more concessions by the Arabs in general and the PLO in particular.

Furthermore, the imbalance of powers in the region is a factor which leads to more caution and tension and prevents Arab understanding especially with the Iraq-Iran war raging as we have seen recently.

All these factors combined and their serious implications confirm that the Arab nation is approaching more calamities and dangers and that there is no longer any chance of reunion in the circumstances of clear and continuous conflict of visions and remedies. This is happening at a time when the Arab states are trying to assert their independent will and demonstrate their effectiveness by holding a successful summit conference that would place the fate of this nation above all other priorities which the various states and peoples of this region might have.

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia has spared no effort to make such summit conference possible and to pave the way for it but it is now more convinced that what is happening in the Arab region is beyond endurance and surpasses the boundaries of spontaneous reactions and that a summit conference is not sufficient on its own to cover all details of these developments, find solutions, clear atmospheres, and devote Arab efforts to the service of the nation's high interests.

His Highness [Crown Prince] 'Abdallah Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz' visit to Damascus on the instruction of His Majesty King Fahd is, therefore, not only a response to the Arab insistence that a summit conference should be held as soon as possible. It also reflects Arab awareness of the serious deterioration in events and developments and of the possible negative repercussions of such a situation to all the region's states without exception. The situation could drag other states and peoples into the cycle of danger and conflict and take their peoples to new labyrinths which would tear apart what is left of the stable Arab homeland. The deliberate threats and continuous plans to drown the region in such labyrinths can no longer be tolerated. The situation calls for an urgent move to face the elements of power and tension with their responsibilities, remove the ingredients of destruction from the nation's way, and allow a minimum degree of common approach to what is happening.

We, therefore, view this move as the final rescue of this nation from what might come whether in relation to Lebanon, the Palestinian and Jordanian peoples, or the two Islamic countries Iraq and Iran. We also realize that there is no room for more harm to the fate of this nation. We must agree even outside the framework of an Arab summit conference and we must rise above our differences and lay the common grounds for responsible work to spare the nation sweeping and certain destruction.

Despite everything, we expect all to share this understanding with us and tackle the situation with an awareness of the full dimensions, responsibilities, and possible consequences of what might develop.

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CSO: 4400/28

SAUDI ARABIA

BRIEFS

IMPORTS STATISTICS--Jeddah, 11 Oct (SPA)--The general statistics department reported that in 1984 the kingdom's imports were worth 118 billion riyals, down 12.3 percent compared to 1983 figures. This decrease was due to a reduction in the imports of manufactured goods and was offset by an increase in raw materials imports, which clearly indicates industrial expansion in the kingdom. [Summary] [Riyadh SPA in Arabic 1145 GMT 11 Oct 85 GF]

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
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

COMMUNISTS SAID HARASSING MUSLIMS

More Than 3,000 Soviets Reported

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English Sep 85 pp 48-49

[Text]

 In the modern Muslim world, the uproar of wars and political troubles is so high that the voices of oppressed fellow-Muslims in a small place like Yemen are scarcely heard. Muslims are aware that their co-religionists in Palestine, Syria, Afghanistan, and many other places are suffering hard times under communist and military regimes. Help is always given in one way or another, but in the case of Yemen, nobody even seems to know what is taking place.

After its apparent showdown in Egypt and Sudan, communism has found its way to this neighbouring Muslim country. The red hammer and sickle is raised high in today's South Yemen; not only over official buildings, as in moderate Russia, but over many mosques as well. The fact that these mosques have been turned into training centres for communist cadres makes the picture even uglier.

Under communist rule, it is true, nobody expects an easy life for Muslim subjects. All communist parties, wherever they might be, are working systematically to transplant their creed into Muslim soil; but it has only recently become clear how painful and bitter the process of transplantation can be.

In Aden, the Central Islamic Institute, an organisation that contributed enormously to Islamic education and culture, has been turned, ironically, into a security headquarters where Islamic students and scholars are interrogated and tortured. In Traim, once the city of knowledge and science, most of the 365 mosques have been added to the party's properties. The few that were left for ceremonial services, were left without

imams! More than 100 Muslim scholars and imams in Traim, Aden, Wadi Dawan, al-Wahdi and Bihan were killed in an odd form of brutality. Each imam was tied to the back of a car and towed around until he died. The communist propagandists described the scene as an elimination of the clergy and of clericalism.

Members of a South Yemeni family who miraculously escaped from the country, told *Arabia* some stories that exceed the limits of imagination. They spoke of kidnapping, detention without trial, and torture. They showed us a list of more than 200 people who are reported lost and they relayed eye-witness reports about Nabil Murshid, a religious young man, who was killed and whose body was dumped on his own doorstep. They told us that every religious-looking girl or boy is highly suspect. Girls wearing hijab were suspended from schools, where scientific socialism is taught without alternative or question. According to state security laws, a student is not allowed to speak to an expatriate teacher outside the classroom.

In a letter of appeal addressed to international organisations, the media, and all who are concerned with human rights, the National Congress of the Patriotic Forces in South Yemen said that the "South Yemenis are now encapsulated in a rigid doctrine within a rigid party and encircled by a thick wall of steel."

A practicing Muslim under 50 years of age is not allowed to go to Hajj. He may go instead to Addis Ababa, Cuba or other socialist countries, but his passport will not allow him to travel beyond these countries. Some 1500 Yemenis are sent annually to Cuba for vocational training.



They stay there for two or four years to graduate as indoctrinated young Marxists. This was thought to be the best way to launch full-scale socialisation of a traditional Muslim community on communist lines.

South Yemen is one of the poorest Muslim countries, populated by less than two million people, who live on a poor land of deserts and mountains. Yet, strategically speaking, Yemen is the most important Arab country. He who controls Yemen has control over the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, vital routes for international trade. This makes Russia cling desperately to it, excluding the USA and other western countries.

Reports say that there are at least 3000 Russian soldiers and 2000 civilians in South Yemen, not to mention unknown numbers stationed on Sikatra Island, the highly secret Russian military base in the region. Other military centres are based near the capital, Aden, and on Biraim Island near Bab al-Mandab. In these centres 27,000 soldiers, 15,000 militiamen

and 3000 policemen have been trained, forming the biggest communist army in the smallest Muslim country at the most crucial position between East and West.

Seeing this overwhelming Soviet presence in South Yemen, it is indeed very difficult to tell whether it is communist Yemenis who are running their country, aided by Russians, or the Soviets, aided by some Yemeni agents. Of course there are no political parties in South Yemen other than the Yemeni Socialist Party which seems to enjoy doing their job and brutally harassing Muslims.

The Party has declared that the country has now passed the stage of patriotic democratic revolution, and is now approaching the stage of scientific socialism in which people will reach complete satisfaction. These claims ignore the acute economic crisis, in a country plagued by shortages of the most basic necessities. In answer to such problems, the Marxist regime does not seem to have any plan other than importing and storing more Russian tank destroyers and harassing more Muslim workers. □

Recent reports from Aden say that twelve of its citizens have been arrested and tortured.

- |                       |                           |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| • Ali Said Salih      | • Ali bin Ali Salih       |
| • Mahmoud Said Salim  | • Muawya Said Salim       |
| • Khalid Mohammad Ali | • Amer Abdallah bin Hamam |
| • Shihab Gasim        | • Abdallah Ali Bashmail   |
| • Nasir Ahmed Nasir   | • Ahmed Fadel Said        |
| • Khalid Abdallah     | • Mohamed Ahmed Mahfouz   |

They are accused of having had contacts with an unnamed foreign country in 1980. These men now face the death penalty.

#### Detentions Cited

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English Sep 85 p 48

[Text]

Information received by *Arabia* suggests that the South Yemen government has been maintaining several clandestine camps in remote parts of the country where political prisoners are kept in appalling conditions. *Arabia* has obtained a list of 665 people who are languishing in these concentration camps, or whose whereabouts have been kept from their families. It is feared that many of them might not be alive, as the government has refused to answer any queries about

them. Of the 665 prisoners, 44 are from the governate of Aden, 115 from Lehag, 306 from Abeen and 199 from Shebwa. A further breakdown of the detainees indicates that in many cases the entire active male population of some villages has been abducted. For instance, in Kreter village, Aden, nearly all the young people have been put into concentration camps. All the male members of many families have been arrested and sent to different parts of the country. □

### Imam Said Murdered

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English Sep 85 p 49

[Text]

The plight of religious leaders in South Yemen is illustrated by the case of the revered Islamist and imam, Ali Mohammad Bahamish, who was the imam of Aidrus mosque in Aden. His frank sermons angered the regime.

The government moved after Salim Rubbayia Ali, then the president of South Yemen, listened to one of his sermons. Bahamish started his khutba by saying: "The president has come to the mosque today to listen to what we want to say. We hope he will do this every Friday, so that we can express our views directly to him instead of their being relayed to him in a distorted way by the security organs." He then went on to attack vehemently the government's record on hostility to Islamic education in schools and its spreading of Marxism and anti-Islamic propaganda.

The next day, the imam received an order not to leave his home. He was also banned from speeches in mosques, unless they were written speeches approved in advance by the Marxist-dominated Ministry of Religious Affairs. Bahamish preferred not to deliver any speeches and confined himself to his home. However, his home soon became a centre for people seeking the advice of the imam. The

government could not tolerate this. So one afternoon Bahamish was run down by a Land Rover as he sat in front of his house. He was taken to hospital in a very serious condition. The protests against the assassination attempt were so widespread and fierce that the government became very worried. The secretary-general of the party visited the imam in hospital to deflect criticism of the regime. The sheikh, however, refused to talk to him. He uttered only one sentence: "God is enough for me, and he is the best guardian." He died some months later without leaving hospital.

Government complicity in the incident was indicated by overwhelming evidence. On the same day, the brother of Mohammad Abdelwahab Chaudhry, a leading opposition member in exile in Cairo, was run down by a Land Rover in similar circumstances. He had left home early to buy some meat. (People have to get up at dawn in Aden to stand any chance of getting meat.)

It was not known who ran this other man down; but the person who hit the imam was a convicted murderer released from jail, apparently with the promise of pardon if he succeeded in his mission. He was re-arrested after the incident.

Over a hundred religious leaders are known to have been killed in South Yemen for refusing to toe the government line, which wants religious institutions to serve Marxist propaganda. □

### Other Harassment

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English Sep 85 p 49

[Text]

Faced with the fact that the rising tide of Islamic revival has not spared Aden, the Marxist bosses of South Yemen have been very innovative in their counter-offensive. They started with the all-too-familiar measures of banning girls with Islamic dress from school, and persecuting bearded young men. However, these tactics did not

seem to work very well. Girls who were banned from school for between six months and a year did not yield and had to be re-admitted. Similarly, the imprisonment of young men only seemed to make them more determined.

Thus the regime resorted to more drastic measures: abductions and killings. A new security law was also passed which tightened the government's grip on society. Copies of the text of the law were distributed to all citizens at a price equivalent to 10 British pence. The law bans any kind of communication with foreigners.

In addition to that, the government maintains rigid control over movements of people through its so-called Popular Defence Committees. These PDC's are set up in every neighbourhood or village. They report on the movements of the people in the area, on visitors, and other personal details. Even if a person is seriously ill, he cannot go to the hospital at night without PDC clearance.

The government has nationalised everything, even houses. No vestige of economic activity escapes its control. Even angling, once the favourite pastime of Adanis, is now banned.

The most potent weapon of the Marxist regime seems to be the corruption of youth and the weakening of the ties of the family. The government has built, with East German help, a new brewery to help spread its message to youth. They have achieved partial success. The normally very conservative Yemenis are now shocked to see a new kind of queue: young girls waiting to buy beer at government stores (you have to queue for almost everything in Yemen).

However, if the need for increased repression is anything to go by the government's battle seems far from over. □

/9274

CSO: 4400/24

AFGHANISTAN

MILITARY CHIEF SPEAKS ON INSURGENCY, OTHER ISSUES

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by Mushahid Hussain]

[Text] Islamabad, Oct. 16: If the guerilla insurgency in Afghanistan ceases today, the situation in Afghanistan "will normalise in less than a year." This was stated by Gen. Mohammad Nabi Azimi, Deputy Defense Minister of Afghanistan in an interview in Kabul on October 7. This interview by the number two in the Afghan military hierarchy was a rare one given by him to a foreign journalist. During the conversation, Gen. Azimi admitted that the new weapons being provided to the Mujahideen are "having a great effect on the fighting."

The Afghan Ministry of Defence is located almost on the outskirts of Kabul and it is housed in a huge building which was a former palace of the Afghan king Amanullah Khan. The heavy-set, very soft spoken and mild mannered General was flanked by portraits of Babrak Karmal and Mikhael Gorbachev.

Excerpts from the interview:

On State of Insurgency, Particularly the Major Operation in Khost (Paktia)

"This is a situation created by the undeclared war unleashed by Pakistan and Iran. They are training and sending counter-revolutionaries here.

"Khost operation was a major one which we completed successfully. There was fighting in Khost and other areas. The counter-revolutionaries were well dug in and were prepared for our offensive. They had cemented bunkers and that is why it took us long. Actually, the operation should have been over in four or five days. We discovered 80 bodies of Pakistani militiamen. We know them by their faces, dress and documents discovered on their person. There were other casualties too which were taken into Pakistani territory. The guerillas had guns with a range of 16 kilometres and these were fired from Pakistan territory."

On New Weapons Used by Mujahideen

"This year, in a period of six months, the U.S. alone has provided ammunition and weapons worth six billion dollars to the insurgents. Of course, all of it

does not go to those who are fighting. Their leaders also take some of it. This is having a great effect on the war especially such weapons used by the insurgents as ground-to-ground missiles with a range of 15-16 kilometres. Then there are anti tank and anti-personnel guns supplied by Britain, France and Italy.

On Ahmad Shah Masood, Mujahideen Commander in Panjsher

"He is the creation of the Western media. As far as we are concerned, he does not exist. We do not know who he is. They are all the same: bandits and counterrevolutionaries. Names do not matter. Recently during the Khost operation, Ahmad Gul, an aide of Jalaluddin Haqani, was killed. Many of them have died. We do not care for the names as the enemy is the same."

On Defections in Afghan Army

"This was the case soon after the SAUR revolution when our army was weak. Now we have organised our army on the pattern of the Soviet military system. There is a department of political affairs, with a political commissar in all units and battalions. They are responsible for ideological training and political education of our soldiers. Now our forces know who are their friends and who are their enemies. Consequently, the rate of defection has gone down a lot."

On Strength of Afghan Army and Mujahideen

"What figure have you heard? Thirty thousand! or 45,000 (laughingly) let me tell you and this may surprise you: We have 45,000 officers alone. You can then calculate its total strength.

"As regards the strength of insurgents, I would not do guess work, I will be very specific. There are around 120 camps for training of the counter-revolutionaries in Pakistan. Each camp has around 3,000 insurgents. You can calculate yourself their total number."

On Fighting by Afghan Army and Red Army

"Our forces are now capable of doing all the fighting. It is our army which is fighting the counter-revolutionaries. The Soviet troops, actually it is a limited military contingent, are rarely used in fighting. They are mostly confined to their barracks, doing training. Only when we need their assistance--it is rare--do they come in."

On Strength of Red Army

"I am a military man. I do not know about their number. That decision was taken by the top leadership, I am only concerned about my work."

On Possibilities of Normalising Ground Situation

"If the undeclared war totally ceases from both Pakistan and Iran, we will normalise the situation in less than a year."

#### On Iran's Role

"They are greatly involved in training and supplying the counter-revolutionaries with arms. We have captured a lot of weapons with their markings. Of course there are a great number of weapons with Chinese, Egyptian and Pakistani markings, not counting the Americans of course."

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CSO: 4600/57

AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

**MUJAHIDIN LAUNCH ATTACKS**—Mashhad, Khorassan Prov., Oct. 2 (IRNA)—The Afghan Mujahideen launched attacks on joint Soviet-Afghan positions in 16 points last week, said dispatches reaching here from Afghan sources. In these operations, the Mujahideen killed 26 joint forces including the political deputy of brigade 32, division 17, as well as the administrative head of the information organization. The Muslim revolutionaries, wounded 10 and captured 18 of the joint forces while destroying a command post as well as five tanks and military personnel carriers in the attacks. [Text] [Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 3 Oct 85 p 1]

**ARMY COPTER DOWNED**—Birjand, Khorassan Prov., Oct. 5 (IRNA)—The Afghan Mujahideen downed a government helicopter patrolling Ghulam-Sadiq village within a distance of one kilometer from Farah city last week. Five of the 14 persons aboard the helicopter were killed and the rest were injured in the crash. Meanwhile, one tank and another vehicle of the joint Soviet and government forces were destroyed by a mine planted by Afghan combatants in Kalate-Nazar region near the Iran-Afghan border, in Farah Province. The commander of Kal-Yarak military base and two Afghan soldiers were killed in this operation. [Text] [Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 6 Oct 85 p 1]

**BAGRAM AIRPORT ATTACKED**—London, Oct. 7 (IRNA)—Nine aircraft of the Afghan government were destroyed at Bagram airport, the biggest Soviet airport near Kabul, in a missile attack conducted by the Afghan freedom fighters on the night of September 17. According to a report of the Agence Afghan Press, the Mujahideen attacked the airport destroying parked aircrafts on the runway. Eyewitnesses said the erupting fire spread to the main airport building. Flights had to be suspended for several days as the runway was rendered unfit for flight operations. [Text] [Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 8 Oct 85 p 1]

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CSO: 4600/56

INDIA

ANALYST ON GANDHI POLICY ON CABINET SELECTION

Madras THE HINDU in English 15 Sep 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Sept. 14.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, wants to revert to the earlier convention of selecting senior Cabinet Ministers from the Lok Sabha, as far as possible, making exceptions only in very special cases, according to some of his confidants here.

The intention is not to deny the Rajya Sabha its due share of representation in the Cabinet, but to allocate key portfolios hereafter to those elected to the Lok Sabha.

In the present 15-member Cabinet, the only Minister who is not a member of the Lok Sabha is Mr. V. P. Singh, Minister for Finance and Commerce, while all others had been elected to the Lower House during the last Parliamentary elections. But he was a member of the last Lok Sabha before he was sent as Chief Minister to Uttar Pradesh and he got back to Parliament two years later as a member of the Rajya Sabha after relinquishing this post.

As president of the PCC (I), he was in charge of the Congress (I) campaign in Uttar Pradesh during the last elections. He chose to retain his Rajya Sabha seat and work for the success of the party instead of concentrating on his own election to the Lok Sabha by contesting for a seat in the Lower House.

**V. P. Singh's case**

It was in these exceptional circumstances that Mr. V. P. Singh was made leader of the Rajya Sabha and appointed Finance Minister besides being given additional charge of Commerce.

But there is no Cabinet-rank Minister at present who is not a member of the Lower House. Apart from Mr. Rajiv Gandhi himself, all the other 13 members of the Cabinet contested and got elected in the last Lok Sabha elections.

All the six Ministers of State with independent charges—with the exception of Mr. Chandrasekhar Singh, Minister for Supply and Textiles—are members of the Lok Sabha, while only three of the other 19 Ministers of State attached to various Ministries are from the Upper House. This under-representation of the Rajya Sabha in the Council of Ministers has led

to some resentment among Congress (I) members of the Upper House who had a much bigger share of Ministerial posts in Mrs. Indira Gandhi's time.

**New controversy**

It is in this context that a new controversy has arisen over Mr. Chandrasekhar Singh's reluctance to seek a Lok Sabha seat. He was a member of the last Lok Sabha before he was sent as Chief Minister of Bihar, but brought back to the Centre as a Minister of State six months ago, after he was replaced by Mr. B. Dube in his home State.

As Mr. Chandrasekhar Singh's old Lok Sabha seat was allotted to his wife in the last Parliamentary elections, the Prime Minister wanted her to resign and make way for her husband through a by-election. But he was reluctant to do so because he was not certain that he would get elected after his unceremonious exit as Chief Minister.

So Mr. Chandrasekhar Singh has been trying to get into the Rajya Sabha by asking one of the obliging Congress (I) members from Bihar to give up his seat. But as party president, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, felt that he should have accepted his earlier advice and tried to get back to the Lok Sabha through a by-election.

In either case, it is too late for him now to get into either the Lok Sabha or the Rajya Sabha in time to comply with the six-month stipulation for retaining his Ministership at the Centre. So he is likely to be asked to resign before the expiry of the deadline on September 28 since it would be impossible to arrange for his election to either House of Parliament within the next fortnight.

This episode has made many Congress (I) members of the Rajya Sabha who are aspiring for ministerships during the long overdue Cabinet expansion wonder whether the Prime Minister is going to apply the new rule rigidly to the detriment of their interests. They hope that he would make suitable exceptions at least to redress the present imbalances in the representation of various States and communities at the Centre, even if he does not intend to allot any of the key portfolios hereafter to those from the Upper House.

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CSO: 4600/1025



INDIA

TEXT OF RAJIV'S 18 SEP ELECTION SPEECH IN PUNJAB

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 24 Sep 85 p 6

[Text]

**W**e wanted the elections to be held in Punjab along with the rest of the country but the situation was such that we could not. In the last elections we promised that our first priority would be to solve Punjab's problems. We have taken several steps and created such an atmosphere that today we are able to hold elections in Punjab. The Punjab accord was signed between Sant Longowalji and me and we hope that we will fight the election on the basis of this accord. We know that you, with your vote, will endorse this accord. You will show the world that Punjab does not want to follow the path of terrorism. It has done a lot of harm, a lot of people have died. Indiraji and Sant Longowalji made the ultimate sacrifice by giving their lives for Punjab and India's unity.

In this election you have to prove that you want to take Punjab on the path of progress. In the past few months we have done several things, for Punjab and for Punjab's people. Starting with the *kisans*, we have taken up work on three dams worth Rs 600 crores to give the *kisans* water, to give electricity in the towns. We gave a Rs 5 bonus for wheat, we raised the price of wheat by Rs 5 to help the *kisans*. We set up an industry, not far from here, in Kapurthala. It is a railway coach factory and we hope that this factory, which in the normal course would take four years to build, will be completed in two and a half years.

In this factory, 10,000 people will get jobs, but more than this, all around several small factories will be set up and thousands more will get jobs.

A new era of industry and development will begin in Punjab. In the Seventh Five Year Plan we have given an extra Rs 150 crores to Punjab. But we think it cannot progress only through industrial development. We have set up a regional cultural centre at Patiala from where Punjab's heritage and culture spreads to all corners of the country.

We are seeing how the next generation can get better education so that it can take India into the 21st century with full preparation. We are all going into the 21st century, that we cannot stop. But we have to see that the generation presently in schools, which will take India's responsibility on its shoulders 15 years later, gets the kind of education which enables it to take India forward with speed, so that we are able to compete with any other nation in the world. Today we have to think what kind of things we will need, what kind of education will be required so that today's children are able to take tomorrow's responsibility on their shoulders. Several things will change. Industries will change. You have seen in Punjab in the past 40 years that agriculture has changed, the fields have changed. Agriculture will change again, industries will change, jobs will change, new kinds of jobs will come. The

education imparted now should be such that it yields jobs, a livelihood.

Our efforts in the Seventh Five Year Plan are to further remove poverty. In the past five years, Indiraji's government had taken several steps to remove poverty. When she returned to power in 1980, about 51 per cent of the people in the country was below the poverty line. In four years till 1984—because we have statistics till 1984—this fell to just 37 per cent. In four years it was reduced by 14 per cent. Our efforts are to see that there is a further fall in the coming five years and by the end of the Seventh Plan less than 25 per cent remains below poverty line.

But to do this we need to do a lot of other things. Everyone has to work together, everyone has to use his strength to take the country forward. Developmental work is done when there is peace, when there is unity, when there are no differences between people. Today our first priority is to make the country more united, stronger, to resolve the differences between ourselves. We have to see that no one is able to lure India away from its path. We have to pay close attention to what is being done abroad to make India weak. We have to show to the world that we will not see India become weak, we will make India stronger, keep it united and develop it with speed.

We see that since the accord terrorism has declined. But even so, it is not finished. Even now there are a few odd people who are following the wrong path. We have to bring them to

the correct path. That can only be achieved through your strength. You have to see that people deploy their full strength to make India strong, to take India forward. There are some people who perhaps are not Hindustanis. They grow their hair and beards and cross the border into Punjab, into India. We have to isolate them and this can only be done if you put your entire strength into isolating them, into finishing them.

In this election you have to elect who takes Punjab on the path of development, you have to think who will do this. From the Congress(I), we have put a team in front of you. When we select the team, when anyone selects a team, then a full team is selected, not different individuals. We have put our team in front of you. Our candidates, in our opinion, present the best picture of the Congress(I) before you.

A rumour is being spread that the Congress(I) is deliberately trying to lose the elections. Nothing can be more false than this. The Congress is fighting the elections to win, it is fighting to form the government and from what I myself am seeing in the past few days, from what I am being told, I feel that the Congress(I) will definitely form the government in Punjab. You have to ensure that a strong government is formed which looks after your interests, the interests of Punjab—Punjab's development, taking Punjab forward and finishing terrorism. If you elect the Congress, it can do all this. We have shown the country, the world that the Congress can govern firmly, work speedily, and bring development to your

door. Today you make our candidates victorious... (he then introduces the party candidates).

I forgot to say one thing. In the last few months, there was a very big flood in Punjab and though we could not stop the flood, we tried to help those who were affected. Till date we have distributed about Rs 35 crores and we hope that we will soon be able to help those who have been left out. I have been told that by the time this (relief) work is completed, double the amount will be spent.

Secondly, from Punjab a lot of people have joined our armed forces to protect India, to keep India's flag flying. This is true not just today but if we look at India's history, at every step we see that Punjab was in the forefront to defend India's unity and sovereignty, to defend India's freedom. There are many retired army personnel in Punjab, we are seeing how we can further help them. We have taken several steps but even so a lot more can be done. We will try to do this.

I again want to tell you that to take Punjab forward, for development to fully solve the problems that have arisen, you must make the Congress(I) victorious. Ensure a Congress(I) government and we will see that Punjab develops, we will see that once again Punjab takes its place at the top along with the other states of India. Terrorism over the past few years has curtailed Punjab's (progress). Now we would like that (to be reversed) with the same speed. Now, with me say loudly 'jai hind'. I only heard women's voices, no one else said anything—jai hind, jai hind, jai hind. Thank you.

/9317

CSO: 4600/1038

INDIA

## PROGRESS IN FORMULATION OF SEVENTH PLAN REPORTED

### Planning Commission Meets

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 18 Sep 85 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, September 17.

A FULL meeting of the planning commission with the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in the chair, today approved the seventh plan draft which envisages a total public sector outlay of Rs. 180,000 crores during the next five years (1985-90).

According to a release issued by the commission at the end of the meeting, due emphasis has been placed on the outlays of infrastructural sectors such as power, coal, petroleum and railways.

At the last meeting of the commission on August 26, the Prime Minister was reported to have suggested higher allocations for the infrastructural sectors.

The plan document as finalised will now be placed before the Union cabinet for approval to be followed by a meeting of the National Development Council early in November to approve it finally.

Today's meeting, which lasted nearly two hours, was attended by the defence minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, the finance minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, the agriculture minister, Mr. Buta Singh, and the minister of state for planning, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, besides Dr. Manmohan Singh, deputy chairman and other full-time members of the commission.

The release says that adequate provision has been made for agriculture, rural development and irrigation. To attain regional balance in the agricultural sector, emphasis has been laid on improving dry land farming and rice cultivation in the eastern region.

Greater stress has also been laid on human resources development in the areas of social welfare, education, and youth services (including sports), health and family welfare. Socio-economic programmes for women will be given special attention.

In money terms, the proposed public sector outlay of Rs. 180,000 crores marks an increase of nearly 64 per cent over the actual outlay of Rs. 110,000 crores during the sixth plan period. The outlay proposed in the sixth plan was Rs. 97,500 crores in 1979-80 prices. Because of the erosion of money value due to inflation, the actual sixth plan outlay of Rs. 110,000 crores was, therefore, less than the proposed outlay in real terms.

The approach paper to the seventh plan, which was approved by the National Development Council, envisaged a total outlay of Rs. 320,000 crores, including Rs. 180,000 crores in the public sector. A serious resource crunch forced the commission to reduce the share of the public sector in the total outlay from over 80 per cent in the sixth plan to only 55 per cent in the seventh plan.

The seventh plan aims at achieving an annual growth rate of five per cent in gross domestic product (GDP). The resource constraint has been got over by raising the expected internal generation of the public sector to Rs. 35,000 crores during the next five years.

An underlying assumption is that the pricing policy of the public sector will have to be revised to raise the income of the public sector units.

The commission is said to be of the view that there is no resource crunch really. The problem is of taking the right measures to mobilise more resources.

Planning Official's Remarks

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 19 Sep 85 p 5

[Text]

There is no resource gap in the draft Seventh Plan which envisages an annual growth rate of five per cent and provides a Rs 180,000 crore outlay for the public sector.

Giving this assurance to newsmen in New Delhi on Wednesday, Planning Commission Deputy Chairman Manmohan Singh said, "We are presenting a financially viable and sound proposition well within the limits of safety and prudence. It is an eminently bankable Plan."

The Seventh Plan was finalised at a full meeting of the Commission, chaired by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, on Tuesday.

Dr Singh admitted that when a panel of economists was considering the Approach Paper of the Plan a few months ago, there was a resource gap of Rs 40,000 crore. But additional resource generation options were thought of and the gap met.

Like all other Plans this too gambled on certain calculated risks, said Dr Singh. But none of these was of the sort that a country of India's economic stability could not afford to take.

The highlights of the Plan, he said, were an agricultural annual growth rate of four per cent, industrial annual growth rate of eight per cent and emphasis, as per the Prime Minister's directive, on the infrastructural sector and human resources development.

The Plan was highly employment oriented, said Dr Singh. Its employment target was 40 million "standard person years", or, an addition of 39 million people to the work force. It also envisages a decline in the poverty ratio from 37 per cent in 1984-85 to 26 per cent by 1990.

Dr Singh assured that the balance of payments deficit would not exceed 1.6 per cent of the gross domestic product in the next five years and the repayment obligation of external debts would not exceed 20 per cent of export earnings.

The annual average rate of growth in exports has been envisaged at 6.8 per cent and that of imports at 5.8 per cent. Efforts have been made to ensure that a balance of payments crisis does not arise in the coming five years, said Dr Singh.

To follow the Prime Minister's directive for a higher allocation for human resources development an additional Rs

1,500 crore was earmarked and the outlay for some sectors was pruned, said Dr Singh. He, however, declined to say which these sectors were.

As per Mr Gandhi's directive for emphasis on the infrastructural sector, the Planning Commission gave a fresh look on the power, coal and railways sectors about whose outlays there was some doubt. It was, however, convinced that the allocations in the power and coal sectors could not be improved in view of the resource crunch.

Though it appreciated that the railways might need more money, it decided on a year-to-year review of this sector as the railways have over projected their needs in the past.

The stress, said Dr Singh, will be to complete on-going projects, specially power projects during this plan period. Due to the shortage in resources, the Commission decided not to go in for projects that will become operational in the next Plan period. He added that some rethinking on this might be done when the mid-term review of the Plan comes up, provided, of course, funds are available for new projects.

The Plan visualises the gross domestic savings rate to go from 23.3 per cent in 1984-85 to 24.5 per cent in 1989-90, said Dr Singh. This, however, appeared inconsistent with the Approach Paper which states that "the Plan can be based on the assumption of a 26 per cent savings rate which has already been achieved". The rate of investments, is expected to increase from 24.5 per cent in 1984-85 to 25.9 per cent by 1989-90.

Dr Singh made it clear that for the successful implementation of the Plan, the necessary prerequisites were sustained resources mobilisation both by the Centre and the States, an increase in the tax ratio, generation of surpluses by the public sector enterprises and an all-round improvement in efficiency and management.

Asked whether his plea for higher tax ratio went against the present fiscal policy of an easier tax regime, he said that higher mobilisation through taxes need not be achieved only by jacking up tax rates. Better tax collection could also lead to the same result. "We are interested only in the outcome," he observed.

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CSO: 4600/1026

INDIA

## U.S. PLANS FOR ARMS SALES TO PAKISTAN TOLD

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 18 Sep 85 p 1

[Text]

WASHINGTON, September 17  
(UNI).

**T**HE Reagan administration has decided to sell 103 million dollars worth of arms to Pakistan, which is in addition to the 3.2 billion dollars-worth U.S. military and economic aid package to that country.

The new arms package is designed to bolster Pakistan's ground offensive capability using armoured personnel carriers and 155 mm howitzers.

The Reagan administration has conveyed to Congress its approval of the 103 million dollars worth of sales in keeping with Congressional requirements that Congress receive advance notification of proposed arms sales.

Under the new arms sale, Washington has approved for Pakistan two kinds of military hardware. One part of the arms agreement deals with 110 M113A2 armoured personnel carriers with machine-guns, spare parts and related support equipment. The cost of this item is 25 million dollars. The second part of the arms package contains 88 M109A2 155 mm full-tracked self propelled howitzers with M2.50 calibre machine guns. The cost of this part of the arms package has been put at 78 million dollars.

In all, the administration has asked Congress to approve a 103 million-dollar package, which is supplemental to the ongoing 3.2 billion-dollar aid package and the 50 million-dollar AIM 9L sidewinder missile sale.

A U.S. defence department statement said that the M113A2 armoured

personnel carriers with machine-guns would contribute to the foreign policy objectives of the United States by "enabling Pakistan to increase its capability to provide for its own security and defence, particularly in view of the increased threat from the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan."

The defence department has also informed Congress that the government of Pakistan "will use this equipment to pursue its overall force modernisation plan, and enhance its basic defence capability."

Congress has received an undertaking from the Pentagon that this sale will "not affect the basic military balance in the region."

Similarly, the pentagon has justified the sale of 88 mm full-tracked self-propelled howitzers to Pakistan by telling Congress that the sale is congruous with the foreign policy objectives of the United States and that it will not affect the military balance in the region.

Congress now has 30 days to clear or reject the sale, which in practice really means that after 30 days Pakistan will start the formal paperwork to receive the arms, as this sale, like many before of this magnitude, is bound to fly past the hill.

But while Congress is busy with many other pressing commitments, defence experts are saying that his sale, like that of the sidewinders, might have been obtained by Pakistan under the plea of defending itself against the Russians.

From all that has been said of 155

mm self-propelled howitzers, it is clear that their mobilisation is intended at the Rajasthan front with India and not at the Afghan border. While it is true that Pakistan's request was designed to beef up the border defence with Afghanistan, the hardware obtained is only capable of being deployed against India and not against Afghanistan.

U.S. defence production experts say the 155 mm howitzers can in no way be deployed against Afghanistan because of the mountainous terrain. The self-propelled 155 mm gun can only operate on flat land as it runs on tracks which cannot grip steep climbs. The howitzer is essentially like a tank with the difference that it can toss a shell over a longer distance.

The accuracy of this particular gun has been known to be extremely precise and it is one of the Pentagon's prized conventional warfare weapons. Experts further say that the only terrain suitable for the howitzer from Pakistan's point of view is the Rajasthan front with hundreds of miles of flat land.

U.S. military experts are also of the opinion that the armoured personnel carriers (APC) are of little use against Afghanistan. The APC can carry about 35 to 50 armed men behind a shield of solid steel and is primarily used to breach enemy lines against the onslaught of gun fire. The APC can, however, be destroyed by a tank shell or by similar fire. And given these performance traits, the APCs being supplied to Pakistan will also most likely be stationed against India.

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CSO: 4600/1026

INDIA

ANALYST DISCUSSES INDIAN POLICY TOWARD TAMILS

Madras THE HINDU in English 22 Sep 85 p 4

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

**A** MILITANT movement, which believes in the legitimacy of an armed struggle to achieve its political or social objectives, is not interested in a negotiated settlement based on a compromise of its basic principles, unless it is compelled to do so by adverse circumstances. The abandonment of an insurgency in the middle of an all-out fight for a popular cause amounts, in its view, to a virtual surrender of the revolutionary path for all practical purposes.

But then the continuance of an armed struggle even in the face of heavy odds, with little hope of success in compelling an equally determined adversary to concede what one is not prepared to yield as part of a compromise leaves a militant movement with no option except to carry on the fight with greater resoluteness irrespective of the heavy sacrifices involved in it. Any appearance of vacillation in the midst of such a life-and-death crusade, or deviations from the concept of a relentless revolutionary struggle can demoralise the rank and file, with disastrous consequences.

The various Eelam groups, which have been waging a heroic struggle against the tyranny of Sinhala chauvinism, are torn asunder by this agonising dilemma, not knowing whether they should respond to the Indian pleas for a negotiated settlement based on a balance of concessions, or resume the insurgency with redoubled vigour to carry the fight for separation to its logical conclusion.

The Tamil militants cannot afford to brush aside the well-meaning Indian advice while their leaders are still functioning from Indian soil with all its advantages, nor can they run the risk of being branded by the extremists in their own camps as paper-tigers, in the absence of any credible gestures by the Sri Lankan Government.

The moderate Tamil leaders, who are no less patriotic than the militants, see no harm in resuming the dialogue to see whether the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, and his advisers are really serious about an honourable settlement. If they can secure a reasonable

measure of autonomy for the Tamil linguistic regions within the framework of Sri Lanka's unitary Constitution—which provides adequate safeguards for the community to live in complete security with an adequate share of power—there is no need in their view to carry on the armed struggle to its bitter end, imposing tremendous suffering on the Tamil population.

**Debatable point**

But the militants and the moderates differ sharply on what could be deemed to be a just settlement, so long as the Sri Lankan President, with his over-riding executive functions, retains the power to intervene and impose his authority on the Northern and Eastern Provinces. It is a debatable point to what extent the Sri Lankan presidential system could be restricted through constitutional amendment without recourse to a referendum to prevent such contingent situations.

The two groups that have been brought together by India, with a combination of gentle pressure and friendly persuasion, to participate in the Thimpu exercise for what it was worth in the belief that it would at least help to break the ice. But unfortunately their differing approaches continued to prevail, preventing them from coming forward with agreed counter-proposals other than making a joint statement reasserting their faith in the four cardinal principles and staging a walk-out in protest against the atrocities on innocent Tamils by the Sri Lankan army in violation of the ceasefire.

The breakdown of the Thimpu process helped to divert attention from the sharp differences within the Tamil camp, by focussing the attention on the savagery of the Sri Lankan armed forces.

**India's stand**

The Government of India, too, is not free from differing perceptions and the resulting inhibitions in its discussions with the Tamil militants and moderates, and also in its dealings with the Sri Lankan Government.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, who is pursuing a policy of improving relations with the neighbouring countries, has made no secret of his total opposition to the Tamil demand for separation. He has spoken quite unequivocally against the idea of an independent Eelam and ruled out even a federation that goes beyond the limits of Sri Lanka's unitary system. In his view, the kind of autonomy available to the States in India should be sufficient to meet legitimate Tamil aspirations.

The Indian officialdom, negotiating with the Sri Lankan Government within this policy frame, has strived hard to work out a viable basis for a fresh dialogue during which the Tamil leaders would be free to press for more concessions to put greater content into the proposed autonomy for their linguistic regions. But the militants feel that their very participation in such a dialogue, on the basis of the working paper that has been evolved by India through prolonged discussions with the Sri Lankan President's brother, Mr. Hector Jayewardene, would imply a readiness to abandon the idea of a separate Eelam by giving up their right to renew the armed struggle for achieving it.

It is this inherent implication that has been inhibiting these militants from responding to the repeated Indian pleas for resuming the dialogue with the Sri Lankan Government. Their consequent refusal to engage in any internal discussions with the TULF and the PLOT to evolve a joint strategy for negotiating a settlement, or even face the hard realities of the situation by taking due note of their limitations in establishing an independent Eelam in the absence of active Indian support, has led to the latest strains within the Tamil camp and also in their dealings with the Indian Government.

#### **Benefit of doubt**

There is, however, a section of opinion in Delhi which is prepared to give the benefit of doubt to the militants by viewing in historical terms their reluctance to agree to anything less than full-fledged autonomy that could be deemed to be a fair substitute to complete separation. It sees no harm in letting these militants adhere to their basic position until the last, if the Sri Lankan President is not prepared to go beyond the limited autonomy that has been reluctantly agreed to by him, partly to buy time to expand and reorganise his armed forces and partly to mollify the outraged Indian opinion.

There are disconcerting reports of increased arms imports by Sri Lanka which are evidently intended to augment its capacity to cope with the ethnic crisis from a position of strength, if the present peace moves do not lead to a settlement.

When she became Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi was prevailed upon by her image-builders to mount a Vietnam peace offensive by visiting Cairo, Belgrade and Moscow before going to London, Paris and Washington. But Marshal Tito advised her to drop the idea with the argument that no revolutionary movement, in the middle of an armed struggle, can afford to halt the fight and move to the negotiating table, without forfeiting in the bargain what it had already achieved through resort to arms. He told her how the Greek communists unwittingly walked into such a trap laid by the U.S., with the promise of a fair settlement, and realised later that they had lost both the civil war and their cause, since the army was able to crush them by taking advantage of this break in the momentum of the widespread insurgency that had paralysed the administration.

The current Indian policy is not to condone the Tamil insurgency or oppose the armed struggle for Eelam to the extent of taking active steps to curb it. All that is being done at present is to impress on the militants, in every possible way, the desirability of engaging in serious negotiations for a lasting political settlement, without necessarily giving up their right to resume the armed struggle if the Sri Lankan Government refused to meet their legitimate aspirations. At the same time, the officials concerned in Delhi are making no secret of their growing impatience with the brave postures of the militants which are seen only as a facade for their inability to make up their minds on what exactly they should do in this situation.

There is, however, a growing realisation at the higher levels of the Government in Delhi that, even with the best of will on their part, no quick solution is possible to the Sri Lankan crisis and that the best that could be done at present is to keep the dialogue going until the two sides are able to shed their deep distrust of each other and embark on a confidence-building exercise. A ceasefire does not mean mere cessation of hostilities but also a commitment to desist from utilising this respite to augment each other's capability to resume the operations from a more advantageous position.

The four constituents of the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF)—the LTTE, TELO, EROS and EPRLF—have assured the Government of India that they will honour the ceasefire so long as the Sri Lankan army respects it. During their talks in Delhi, they have tried to dispel the impression that the savage reprisals of the Sri Lankan army were only an over-reaction to their own violations of the ceasefire by stressing that after each incident, the army patrols returned with reinforcements to kill and pillage

at random to strike terror among the Tamils and compel them to flee their homes.

It has been pointed out that roughly one-third of the island used to be populated by Tamils until the Sri Lankan Government embarked on a deliberate policy of settling more and more Sinhala in predominantly Tamil areas, especially in the Eastern Province, to alter their demographic composition.

For example, the Sinhala community in the strategic port town of Trincomalee has gone up from 7,606 in 1948 to 86,341 in 1981—from a mere 2.8 per cent in 1921 to 28.8 per cent in 1971 and to 33.8 per cent in 1981. The Tamil population during the period came down from 54 per cent to 36 per cent. The Tamil-speaking Muslim population also had generally decreased, from 37 per cent in 1921 to 29 per cent in 1981, upsetting the overall demographic balance.

The policy-makers in Delhi have not been giving due thought to this diabolical bid by successive Governments in Sri Lanka to alter the demographic balance in the Eastern Province.

The Indian readiness to go along with the Sri Lankan contention that the acceptance of the Tamil demand for a merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces, or even for redrawing their boundaries to create a Tamil linguistic region would logically lead to separation, does not take due notice of this systematic attempt by Sri Lanka to misuse its powers of land settlement to alter the ethnic balance.

A proper distinction has to be kept up between the role of an honest broker and an innocent ostrich in coping with a complex external problem of this kind that has serious internal repercussions. The Tamil militants certainly tend to overstate their case, while the moderates are quite content to leave the initiative to India, to settle their problems.

But in its Good Samaritan role, India cannot afford to be taken for a ride by Sri Lanka in its understandable anxiety to find a quick solution. And this in brief is the peculiar predicament that is facing Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and his advisers at present.

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CSO: 4600/1034



INDIA

## CPI LEADER GIVES SUPPORT TO TAMIL MILITANTS

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 23 Sep 85 p 6

[Text]

New Delhi, Sept. 22 (UNI): The ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka has acquired a new dimension, with the Communist Party of India (CPI) openly supporting the relentless struggle of the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) for the "just demands" of the Tamils in the island nation.

This assurance of support was conveyed to the ENLF representatives today during their hour-long unscheduled meeting with the CPI general secretary, Mr C. Rajeswara Rao, and Mr N. Krishnan.

The CPI leaders, an ENLF spokesman said, agreed to use their international fraternal contacts and party machinery to highlight the plight of the Tamils and mobilise progressive and democratic public opinion in support of the demands of the Tamils.

As an immediate follow-up action, the CPI would organise a nationwide demonstration in support of the Sri Lankan Tamils.

The ENLF representatives who met the CPI leaders at the party headquarters here were Mr V. Pirabhakaran Thilagar (Liberation Tigers of Tamil

Eelam), Mr Sri Sabaratnam (Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation), Mr V. Balakumaran (Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students) and Mr Padmanabhan (Eelam Peoples' Revolutionary Liberation Front).

It is learnt that representatives of various Socialist Bloc missions in the capital have been meeting the ENLF leaders during their week-long stay in the capital at the invitation of the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

As an offshoot of these meetings, Mr Rajeswara Rao, who was in Hyderabad, was asked to rush to the capital to meet the ENLF leaders.

Among other things, the ENLF and CPI leaders discussed the situation in Sri Lanka, the international situation and the designs of the imperialist forces in the Indian Ocean.

The CPI leaders also supported the ENLF's demand for the constitution of an impartial agency to monitor the implementation of the ceasefire.

The CPI support also comes in the wake of the Sri Lankan government's reported attempt to drive out Tamils from the port areas of Trincomalee in the eastern province.

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CSO: 4600/1035

INDIA

# LOK DAL PRESIDENT DELINEATES POLICY STAND

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 18 Sep 85 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Sept 16--Although not in favour of an Indian nuclear deterrent, Mr Charan Singh, former Prime Minister and president of the Lok Dal, feels there is no option but to have the bomb. "I don't want an Atomb bomb, but if my neighbour is going to have it, I would make it before he does--to be able to defend myself," he has said in an interview.

On family planning, he says: "A law has to be so framed and programmes so devised that all classes and sections of our people make an equal contribution to the national objective of population control. Every citizen should be under statutory obligation to practice family planning with a judicial spacing of children whose number will not exceed three."

He regrets that although time is running out, "nothing like the birth control revolution has begun as yet. A World Bank projection suggests that India's population will be 2,800 million in a hundred years from now. In fact, the 1,000 million mark may be reached well before the end of the present century."

According to him, an abortion law should stipulate that when a woman demands an abortion for a second time, her husband should be required to undergo a vasectomy operation.

In his opinion, there is not a single nation with an increasing population which has attained political, cultural or other distinctions, unless its economic production has been able to outpace population. Population growth at a rate higher than economic development will, "in our circumstances only lower the consumption levels further, with all the misery and degradation that are associated with want and penury."

He sees the demographic situation as "a definite threat to our future." There is a limit to the improvement of soils and plants to increase farm output in excess of the people. Sooner or later, food production reaches its limit. If the size of the average farm continues to shrink year by year, India cannot be far from the point at which a farm will be too small for a family's needs."

Mr Charan Singh says that except in Uttar Pradesh, there have been practically no land reforms elsewhere in the country. A belated effort in this direction has started now in West Bengal. In Bihar, more than 1,000 landlords still own more than 2,000 acres each. The Mahant of Bodh Gaya owns more than 10,000 acres.

He says that he had to fight hard to carry out land reforms in U.P. as Revenue Minister ever since 1953. Even the then Chief Minister, Dr Sampurnanand, opposed his zeal and wrote to him to say that his policies had "antagonized practically every class which had so far possessed education, wealth, social status and consequently influence."

But the Lok Dal leader contends that if Communism "whether of the moderate or extreme variety has raised its head in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal or Bihar--and even violence stalks some parts of the country--it is largely due to a breach between profession and practice of the Congress leadership in regard to the abolition of landlordism. Perhaps there is no sphere where the gulf between the official policy and performance was as wide as in the case of land reforms."

He says the Congress is dominated by feudal people and they are anti-poor. Many people--Harijans and backward classes--benefited from land reforms and that is why they voted for the Lok Dal in the U.P. Assembly elections and the party won 85 seats.

He says that his policy of land reforms had eroded the vote banks of the Leftists. It was praised by the World Bank. Besides, he was a staunch opponent of cooperative farming and State trading in grain. He had opposed these even in 1959 at the Congress session in Nagpur although the party leadership had been in favour. That is why the Communists call him a kulak leader. "I am neither a Rightist nor a Leftist. I am a pragmatist," he says.

He feels that only the Gandhian economic philosophy is relevant for this country. India did not need big industry. Small industry should use the vast manpower. The country still lived in the villages and this fact should not be overlooked. The needs of the people there had to be attended to.

Mr Charan Singh is obviously allergic to the Brahmins and has painstakingly compiled figures to prove that the Brahmins dominate the administration. Of the 27 Governors and Lieutenant-Governor, 13 were Brahmins (48%) in 1982-83 and today 17 out of 29 are Brahmins (58.5%), while 310 of the 500 secretaries, additional secretaries and joint secretaries were Brahmins (62%). In 1982-83 their number had increased to 368 out of 542 (67.5%). This year, 22 of the 29 chief secretaries of the States and Union Territories were Brahmins (76%) against 14 out of 26 (54%) three years ago.

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CSO: 4600/1027

INDIA

INTERVIEW WITH CPI-M GENERAL SECRETARY NAMBOODIRIPAD

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN [MISCELLANY Supplement] in English 22 Sep 85  
pp 1, 2

[Interview with E.M.S. Namboodiripad by J.M. Kaul]

[Text] Though several Communist groups appeared in India between 1921 and 1923, the CPI's first conference did not, apparently, take place until 1925. This year, therefore, marks the completion of six decades of Communism in this country. J.M. Kaul, who was at one time active in the Communist movement, discussed its past, present and future with E.M.S. Namboodiripad, general secretary of the CPI (M). Though agreeing that the undivided CPI should not have opposed the Quit India movement and stressing the need to be independent of the Soviet party, Mr Namboodiripad deplored regional variations. "There is no Asian Communism, African Communism or European Communism. It is Marxism-Leninism." In India, he ruled out a "smooth (Communist) advance from election to election," predicting social conflict and official repression and not excluding the possibility of a military take-over. "At the same time...the struggle on the parliamentary plane is a very important lever in strengthening the revolutionary forces."

JMK: The Communist movement in India started nearly six decades ago. Much has happened since then. It is today a force to be reckoned with in politics. Communist legislators sit in many State Assemblies and in Parliament. Two States have Communist Chief Ministers. In other States also there have been periods when Communists have been in the government.

Do you feel satisfied with these achievements or do you think that more could have been achieved? If you feel that more could have been achieved, what do you think are the factors that have prevented the Communist movement from making greater progress? What have been its main weaknesses?

EMS: As an Indian Communist of nearly 50 years' standing, I cannot claim to be fully satisfied with our achievements. I, however, feel that what we have achieved is not a small thing.

It should be noted that from the very beginning we were up against heavy odds. We were faced on the one hand by the deliberate policy of the British Government which, for over a decade since the first Communist groups formed in the early 1920s, prevented them from consolidating

themselves and forming an all-India centre of the party. On the other hand, we had to contend against the most mature and clever class adversary, the Indian bourgeoisie, which had taken over the leadership of the freedom movement.

Added to these obstacles of an objective character, were the subjective failings, which reflected themselves in the inability of the national leadership of the CPI since it came into being in 1934 to make a correct appreciation of the developing international and national situation. Mention should be made of the incorrect understanding of the character of the Second World War after the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union and its repercussions on India's anti-imperialist movement.

However, in spite of the War-time isolation from the anti-imperialist masses and in spite of certain mistakes committed in the immediate post-independence years, the party acquired the position of the leading Opposition party to which it was raised by the electorate in the first general elections of 1952. This shows that our general policy was broadly correct, from which of course there were some deviations.

JMK: What exactly do you mean by "the incorrect understanding of the character of the Second World War after the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union?"

EMS: When I said "incorrect understanding of the character of the war" I did not mean that our assessment of the People's War was wrong. With the entry of the Soviet Union into the war its character changed--it became a People's War, but where we went wrong was that from the character of the war we decided our attitude to the then British government. It is true that the British were an ally of the Soviet Union and in that respect they played a role in the anti-fascist struggle and we were interested in the victory of the alliance which included the British. But that fact did not alter the government's character as the oppressor of the Indian people. It was there that we went wrong. I may add that the same question arose after 1953-54 and it continues now. Our role in the world context, and, therefore, our approach to the government in relation to international questions, should not be mixed up with the class character of the regime itself and, therefore, our attitude towards that regime.

JMK: But in terms of practice what could have been done, given that it was a People's War?

EMS: What could have been done at that time is like crying over spilt milk. In Vietnam, for instance, the same question came up. They were also interested in the victory of the anti-fascist struggle in which the French oppressor was an ally of the world revolutionary forces, yet they did not come out in the way we did in India. I do not know how they managed it. Here, however, it became so crude that anyone who fought the British at that time was termed a fifth columnist.

JMK: So perhaps the party should not have come out so aggressively against the Quit India movement.

EMS: That is right. How exactly it could have been managed it is difficult to say now.

JMK: From this it follows, I suppose, that Subhas Bose should not have been characterized in the way he was.

EMS: Even those who had subjectively come to the position that the enemy of my enemy is my friend could have been criticized but not in the terms we did. As a matter of fact the self-criticism that was made in the party's Calcutta Congress in 1948, apart from some angularities here and there, was broadly correct, in spite of the fact that the political line adopted at Calcutta was highly sectarian and it was taken still further towards sectarianism later on.

JMK: At one time the Communist movement was quite powerful in certain States, Andhra Pradesh for instance, also Punjab and Tamil Nadu. Today it does not appear to play a very significant role in these States despite the many struggles it has led. Why do you think this has happened?

EMS: You are wrong in bracketing the Punjab and Tamil Nadu with Andhra Pradesh as "States where the Communist movement was quite powerful." In fact, Andhra Pradesh used to be bracketed with Kerala and undivided Bengal in pre-independence days. Andhra Pradesh continued in that position right up to the mid-1950s. In fact, when there was a mid-term election in that State in 1955, there were high hopes that the party would be returned in sufficient strength to form the first non-Congress government in any State. That expectation, however, was belied when a combination of all other parties and political forces faced us in the elections. Although we secured about 40% of the votes, we were reduced to a very small minority in the legislature. Many of our candidates lost by narrow margins of a few hundred votes.

Following that electoral defeat and certain national political developments, the party faced a serious internal crisis which affected Andhra Pradesh most of the time. This led to a serious inner-party crisis and ended in the split of the party in 1964. Followed as it was by the second split which gave rise to the Naxalite groups, this split weakened the party everywhere, including Punjab and Tamil Nadu.

JMK: Do you agree with the view held by some that the stand taken by the Communist Party towards the Quit India movement in 1942 led to its isolation from the mainstream of the national movement, and thus prevented it from playing a more significant role in the period immediately before and after independence?

In the period immediately after independence, the Communist Party's formulations about the nature of independence and its subsequent line of left adventurism between 1948 and 1950 were later repudiated by the party as erroneous. How serious, according to your assessment, was the damage caused by this left adventurism?

EMS: These questions have already been answered. I would, however, emphasize that, in spite of these mistakes, the party was able to give a good account of itself when the first major contest for the leadership of the left movement came. I have in mind the general election of 1952 when the Socialist Party staked its claim for the leadership of the left opposition. It based itself on the role it played in the Quit India movement which was allegedly "betrayed" by the CPI. The latter, besides, was alleged to have committed mistakes in the immediate post-independence years. That in spite of these mistakes committed by the CPI, it was returned to the position of the major Opposition in the Central Parliament and in four State legislatures shows the broadly correct orientation of the party's line.

JMK: So despite the mistakes committed in 1942 and later in 1948-49, to which you have referred, the party emerged as the main Opposition rather than the Socialists. To what do you attribute this?

EMS: The mistakes of 1942 and 1948-50 were different. In the latter case in a generally correct line we went to extremes. The opposition to the new regime was not incorrect. But you have to take into consideration the mood of the people who looked upon the new government as a continuation of the freedom movement. On the other hand, in 1942 our basic approach itself was wrong—wrong in the sense that we went against the anti-imperialist sentiments of the people. In 1948-50 we went along with the sentiments of the most advanced sections but left the masses behind. In 1942-45 we got isolated from the masses but when the war ended we were at the head of the anti-imperialist upsurge.

JMK: Do you think that the split in the Communist movement that took place in 1964 is one of the factors that has been responsible for the Communist movement not emerging as a more significant force in Indian

politics? Or are you of the view that the split was necessary and inevitable to strengthen the Communist movement? Many observers feel that since the split in 1964 the CPI and the CPI(M) have both shifted their positions considerably. Would you like to comment on this? Also, CPI and CPI(M) leaders are reportedly coming closer together. But both seem to rule out a merger. What are the factors that have brought them closer and what are the problems and difficulties in the way of a full-fledged merger?

EMS: The split certainly weakened the Communist movement in our country. I however do not think that it could have been avoided. What were considered the Right and the Left in the undivided Communist Party—today's CPI and CPI(M)—were so divided between themselves on issues which had to be fought out among the people. They were, in fact, fought out. The CPI(M) and the CPI have in fact been making self-critical reviews of subsequent developments and have now come to the conclusion that unity of action is the most urgent and is possible. They have, therefore, been coming closer in joint actions. The basic ideological differences, however, remain. There is, therefore, no immediate possibility of a merger of the two parties.

JMK: At one time in the Communist movement acceptance of the leadership of the CPSU was considered the most important thing. Today, both the CPI(M) and CPI are emphasizing the independence of each Communist party. Would you say that the earlier attitude was wrong?

EMS: In the early days of the world Communist movement, it was natural for all the fraternal parties in the world to look up to the Soviet Party as the most experienced, most mature, the leading party of the world Communist movement. The successful end of the struggle against international fascism however created an entirely new and complicated situation in which no single party—even the most experienced—could give proper leadership to all the fraternal parties. The Communist International itself took note of this change in the situation and decided to dissolve itself in 1943.

With this opened a new chapter in the history of the international movement when every fraternal party is responsible to its own working class,

and to the world movement in general, for the correct application of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of the country concerned. Many fraternal parties, including the CPI, however, took some time to digest the meaning of the dissolution of the International. That was why, for some time, the CPSU was looked upon almost in the same terms as the Communist International. That certainly was wrong.

JMK: You have said that after the dissolution of the Communist International it should have been realized that the situation had changed but, instead, the position that tended to be taken was that the Soviet Union was the International.

EMS: That is true. Even though the International was dissolved, there seemed to be an unwritten understanding that the CPSU continued to play the role of the International.

JMK: Till when do you think this incorrect understanding continued to prevail? Up to the early sixties?

EMS: I cannot be very clear about that. Various sections within the party had started groping even earlier.

JMK: Would you say that it was after the 20th Congress of the CPSU?

EMS: Even before the 20th Congress and before Khrushchev and Bulganin came to India, the groping had started. You remember some discussions started within the party after the Andhra elections. Even after the Madurai Congress in 1953 there was an article by Rubenstein and Ajoy Ghosh gave a reply to that—that you may take as the beginning of the groping.

JMK: So now you feel that it is possible that the CPSU may take positions that may be incorrect in relation to the tasks that a party in a country like India faces?

EMS: On this we are very clear, that it is the duty of the Soviet party and of the parties in all Socialist countries to keep the leaders of the Indian government with them in the international struggle against imperialism. But that does not mean that we do what they do in relation to the Indian government.

JMK: It seems fairly obvious that the Soviet Union would like the Indian Communist movement to support the government. What do you feel?

EMS: They want to take a public position that they are in support of the leaders of the government. That is all. For the rest,

I cannot speak on the CPSU because with their leadership we have not had any formal talks, but I have had talks with the leaders of some of the other fraternal parties such as the GDR and Cuba. They say that it is your internal affair: we are happy that you are giving support to the International peace movement and, as a part of that, to the foreign policy of the government. Such formal talks we have not had with the Soviet Union. But informally we have talks. They send their material to us. We send out material to them.

JMK: But, hypothetically, do you not concede that it is possible that the CPSU may have a certain understanding of say, the situation in India, and the Indian Communist Party may differ from it and have a different understanding?

EMS: That was the acknowledged position in the Seventh Congress. Togliatti approvingly quoted Maurice Thorez's position in the French Parliament when the French government spokesman said that we have a mutual defence treaty with the Soviet Union so why are you opposing our war budgets. Thorez replied, "Gentlemen, you have had an agreement with the Soviet Union. Good, but we cannot depend on you. You have not come to an agreement with the French working class." This speech was approvingly quoted by Togliatti who made the main report on war.

JMK: So it is quite clear that there may be a difference, and in such cases the Communist Party in a particular country should naturally work on the basis of its own understanding.

EMS: The statement of 81 parties in 1960 had also said that every party is responsible to its own working class and to the general working class movement. The two are not antagonistic to each other.

JMK: What are your views on the phenomenon popularly referred to as Eurocommunism?

EMS: While in terms of the 1943 decision of the International, each fraternal party is responsible to its own working class in applying Marxism-Leninism, the theory of Marxism is applicable to all the continents and countries. It is, therefore, contrary to Marxism-Leninism to consider the world revolutionary movement in terms of Europe, Asia,

Africa and so on or of individual countries. Furthermore, the doctrines of proletarian internationalism, dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of the party, etc., are applicable to all continents and countries, though their concrete application will differ from country to country. Eurocommunism is against all these. There is no Asian Communism, African Communism or European Communism. It is Marxism-Leninism. How the principles of Marxism-Leninism are to be applied in a particular country—that is for the Communist Party of that country to decide.

JMK: Eurocommunism is the term popularly used. I suppose it refers to the phenomenon where a Communist Party openly criticises the Soviet Party.

EMS: This is only one aspect. The main thing is that they negate proletarian internationalism—the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the role of the party. For instance, the Italian party has made public statements that they do not want any conference of Communist parties even for exchange of views. They want conferences only of Communists, Socialists, anti-imperialists and democratic parties. So the leading role of the Communist Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat are repudiated.

JMK: The CPI(M) has also on certain occasions, in its resolutions and documents, criticized the Soviet party. To that extent they have something in common with some of the European Communist parties. But, of course, on other aspects such as the dictatorship of the proletariat the CPI(M) differs from some of these parties.

EMS: Precisely.

JMK: How do you look at the future? Do you think the perspective is one of the Communist movement gradually gathering strength, coming to power in more States, and then ultimately at the Centre? Or do you visualise some other kind of scenario?

EMS: It is difficult to be categorical regarding the scenario. Two points however can be made without fear of contradiction: firstly, there is no question of a smooth advance of the Communist movement "coming to power in more States and ultimately at the Centre". The struggle, in



fact, will be much more bitter and fierce, the nature of which cannot be foreseen. Secondly, the possibility of rallying and uniting the overwhelming majority of the people in the bitter struggle against reactionary forces is very big, the people at large being interested in defeating the ruling bourgeoisie—the landlord classes—and carrying out radical changes in the existing social order. The question is of the ability of the party leadership to utilize all the contradictions in the camp of the class enemy, and make the working class play its historic role in the revolutionary process.

JMK: While one cannot be categorical about the future, it should be possible to visualise the various alternatives. At present the movement is quite strong, in two or three States; in two States, Communists are in the government. There is also the possibility that they may be able to form governments in one or two other States. Do you think that in the course of a few years, Communists might come into power in one or two more States and thus gradually at the Centre?

EMS: No, I do not look at it that way. I have made it quite clear already. The question is of social conflicts. What form they will take nobody can say for certain. There are, on the one hand, conflicts on socio-economic questions, working class strikes, peasant struggles and so on. There are again social conflicts on the basis of the operations of the divisive forces, which have become a real threat to unity. So how these will take shape nobody can say. Will all these second type of things develop into a civil war type, or will the first kind of social conflict lead to a big mass upsurge against which the bourgeoisie uses repressive measures? In either case it is not a question of a smooth advance from election to election.

JMK: Which means that the old tactical line of the seizure of power is still valid?

EMS: That depends on what steps the ruling classes take. You cannot rule out the possibility of a military take-over also. None of these dangerous possibilities should be ruled out.

At the same time, under the present circumstances, under the present correlation of forces, the struggle on the parliamentary plane is a very important lever in strengthening the revolutionary forces.

As a matter of fact, we have on the one hand the Congress(I) with such of its allies as are prepared to go with it such as the AIDMK, and on the other there are in the opposition two consistent forces—one the BJP and the other the Left. In between the two there are a large number of opposition groups. Our own line is to keep as many of these intermediate parties with us as possible, and defeat the game of the reactionary right forces headed by the BJP. But you cannot fight the BJP unless you fight all other divisive forces, Islamic fundamentalism and such other elements.

JMK: So you rule out even electoral adjustments with the BJP?

EMS: Not only we, they also rule it out. Their strategy is unity of non-Communist forces.

JMK: But if there is a situation where you have an alliance with the Janata and the Janata enters into seat adjustments with the BJP, what happens?

EMS: What happens in a particular election nobody can say. In any case we do not go out of our way to fight everybody. We want to keep as many as possible with us. So what shape things will take in an election it is not possible to say. That is not part of the political line. The main differentiation is between the Right Opposition and the Left Opposition.

INDIA

INTERVIEW WITH CPI-M MOSCOW DELEGATION MEMBER

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 24 Sep 85 p 5

[Report on interview with former Kerala Chief Minister E.K. Nayanar, by Arindam Sen Gupta]

[Text]

*On Monday night a CPM Central Committee delegation flew for Moscow at the CPSU's invitation, marking the establishment of party-to-party relations between the two. The delegation led by West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu consists of former Kerala Chief Minister E K Nayanar, CITU general secretary Nrisingha Chakrabarthy, AIKS general secretary Shantimoy Ghosh and Tamilnadu party leader Umanath.*

*There has been considerable speculation on whether official relations with the CPSU would lead to the CPM changing its understanding of the Indian situation, in general, and its attitude to the Congress, in particular. Patriot met Mr Nayanar a few hours before the delegation's departure to get his views on the entire issue.*

*Excerpts from the interview:*

**Q: How does the CPM assess the delegation's visit to Moscow?**

**A:** The invitation from the CPSU Central Committee to our party is of very great inspiration to our comrades. Our visit to the Soviet Union signifies the beginning of party-to-party relations with the CPSU — the party which we consider as the vari-

guard of the international working class and the bulwark of world peace.

**Q: Didn't a CPM delegation, consisting of Mr Basavapunniah and Mr Surjeet, go to Moscow a few months ago at the CPSU's invitation?**

**A:** That was different. They went on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of World War II along with various other parties. This (visit) marks the establishment of official ties between the two parties. The significance of our visit lies in that.

**Q: There is speculation that your visit, sandwiched between the CPM's Politburo and central committee meetings, might be of greater significance than that. There are reports that it might lead to the CPM reassessing the Indian political situation.**

**A:** How absurd! Do you think that is how a communist party operates, it changes its line merely at the urgings of another party. This is not to say that the CPSU is doing any such thing. Every Marxist-Leninist party sets down its line after assessing the local conditions in which it operates, and whatever the differences, other parties respect it.

Let me assure you there is no high drama in the offing after our delegation's return. As to the visit being sandwiched between the party's Politburo and Central Committee meetings, let me tell you that the CPSU invitation has been pending for a month. Mr Jyoti Basu's work in Bengal and ours in Kerala prevented us from leaving earlier. And we must come back by 30 September so that we can attend the Central Committee meeting where the draft documents for the coming party Congress will be finalised.

**Q: What led to the improvement of the CPM's relations with the CPSU? Was it because you have abandoned your criticism of the CPSU as a revisionist party?**

**A:** Situations never remain static, specially for two decades. The CPSU too called us "splitters" in 1964 when the CPM was formed. Then it called us a "parallel party" and now it refers to us and the CPI as "two communist parties".

Obviously, the CPSU felt that we have been effectively rallying people against war and for peace and, therefore, decided to have official ties with us. Since the last one year letters have been exchanged between our party and the CPSU on various issues. Our

comrades have also visited the Soviet Union. All this paved the way for normal relations between the two Communist Parties.

**Q: Would it be correct to say that the differences have narrowed now?**

**A:** Let us say that the CPSU now understands the real position in our country. We have also corrected some of our mistakes...

**Q: Such as?**

**A:** Well, in our approach to parties and issues. Let us not go into the specifics.

The point that I am making is no attitude or understanding can remain static for years on end. As time passes, situations change, the correlation among forces change. With these changes, perceptions too must alter. The CPI has changed too. For instance, an AITUC delegation is currently touring China, the country that the CPI would not touch with a barge pole until a few years back.

**Q: What differences does your party have still with the CPSU?**

**A:** Suffice it to say that there are differences. That does obstruct international working class unity. But more important are the common perceptions. While there might be ideological differences, we will strive for better understanding. We will reduce our differences, be it with the CPSU or the CPI.

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CSO: 4600/1037

INDIA

## CPI-M OBSERVES DEVELOPMENTS IN PRC

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 18 Sep 85 p 1

[Text]

Calcutta, Sept. 17: The state committee of the CPI(M) has been closely observing the recent developments in the People's Republic of China where over 100 Communist Party veterans resigned top party and administrative posts to make way for a new leadership.

The new development in the Chinese Communist Party with which the CPI(M) has "party-to-party relations" is likely to prompt the state committee to take a quick decision on the question of dropping some aged ministers who have been keeping indifferent health.

The resignation of some Chinese ministers a few days ago had evoked a keen interest in state CPI(M) circles. The state party leadership has been under pressure for some time now to replace three ministers since work in their departments was suffering.

The central committee of the CPI(M) had earlier urged the state committee to go into the

question of replacing these ministers in party as well as public interest. The chief minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, has so far refrained from commenting on the issue, considering the seniority of the ministers.

The state committee of the CPI(M) is likely to consider the matter at its two-day meeting beginning here on September 21.

The state CPI(M) leadership did not make any official comment on the developments in the CPC today. The state party secretary, Mr Saroj Mukherjee, told **The Telegraph**, "We are studying the developments. We will be in a position to make comments only after getting detailed reports."

According to state CPI(M) sources, the replacement of the three veteran ministers, if and when effected, will not go against the party's decision to develop collective leadership. The process of inducting younger elements into the party leadership will continue.

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CSO: 4600/1028

INDIA

REPORTER NOTES INCREASING INDO-FRG COLLABORATION

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Sep 85 p 1

[Article by D.G. Gupte]

[Text]

BOMBAY, September 20.

**T**HE liberalisation in the economic policies and the pragmatic attitude of the Government of India towards foreign investment seem to have enthused German companies to increase their involvement in India.

As a result, direct German investment, which had stagnated in the past two years, is expected to grow substantially in the coming years.

The new Indo-German agreement for the avoidance of double taxation, which came into force on August 10, is expected to accelerate the process. This new treaty is considered by many to be the most modern double taxation agreement India has so far entered into with any country. The instruments of ratification were exchanged in New Delhi recently on the occasion of the visit of the German minister of foreign affairs to India.

The new agreement will have retrospective effect in Germany from January 1, 1984 and in India from April 1, 1984 onwards. Most striking among these new regulations are the incentives given to new investors. Dividends paid on share capital issued after the date of coming into force of the new agreement are taxed at the rate of only 15 per cent instead of 25 per cent hitherto. Further, the tax charged on interest payable in respect of a loan given or debt created is limited to 10 per cent if such interest is paid on a loan granted by a bank, and to 15 per cent in all other cases. In addition, the minimum shareholding in a joint venture has been reduced to 10 per cent from 25 per cent hitherto.

The reduction of the Indian tax on fee for technical services from 40 per cent to 20 per cent is another important feature of the new agreement.

Companies offering turnkey projects have welcomed the new definition of the term "permanent establishment" by which a building site or construction or installation project constitutes a permanent establishment only if it lasts for more than six months.

Indian nationals working in Germany and Germans employed in India will benefit from the clear definition of the term "resident of a contracting state," which defines the state where the person is liable to tax. Another feature, amongst several others, is the coverage of wealth tax under the treaty.

**GOOD POTENTIAL**

According to Dr. Christian Stocks, deputy consul general of the Federal Republic of Germany in Bombay, studies by some well known German companies have indicated that the potential for increasing co-operation with India is bright. In the past years, difficulties in getting licences as a sequel to FERA and MRTP regulations had hindered the progress of increasing co-operation between the two countries, and had induced caution among some German companies. However, German companies are no enlivened by the pronouncements by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, on various policy issues.

Dr. Stocks has said that "China euphoria" noticed in Germany in the past few years is getting over. German companies seem to be having closer picture of the real possibilities in China, although initially they were impressed mainly by the opening up of the Chinese economy after a long period and the large market the country offers.

Many German companies now feel that they are back to normal business. They are, therefore, trying to take a serious look at India.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has also started paying greater attention to India.

In this context, the visit of Dr. Gerhard Stoltenberg, the federal minister of finance to India from September 27 — October 2 assumes importance. The minister is scheduled to visit New Delhi from September 27-29. He will meet the Prime Minister, the ministers for finance, commerce and industry and the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission. During his visit to Bombay from September 30 to October 2, he will have discussions with the governor of the RBI and representatives of banks, financial institutions as also members of the Indo-German Chamber of Commerce.

#### TRADE RISING

In November, a delegation of the Federation of German Industry led by Mr. Langmann is scheduled to visit India for eight days. This delegation will include about 30 top industrialists from Germany. The last delegation came to India in 1980.

In February or March, the federal minister of economy, Mr. Bangemann, is scheduled to visit India and have discussions.

According to Dr. Stocks, the trade figures between the two countries have been improving. In 1984, there was a rise of 20 per cent at DM 4 billion (Rs.

1,600 crores) over 1983. The trend has been maintained in the current year and the trade figures for 1985 are

expected to be higher in 1985 than in 1984. Dr. Stocks has said "we are interested more in direct investments with know-how."

In the first half of 1985, 72 new Indo-German industrial collaborations have been sanctioned by the Government of India. Most of the new co-operations have been with small scale or medium sized German companies as partners. The corresponding figure for the new sanctions during the first half of 1984 was 50. Thus, the trend is set for a record performance in this field in 1985.

In 1984, 135 new proposals for collaboration with German firms in various industrial fields received the approval of the Government of India, an all time high. Industrial collaborations are sanctioned in three forms, namely, as mere import of designs and drawings, as licence agreements or as joint ventures. Licence agreements continue to account for the largest portion of Indo-German industrial collaboration.

The total number of Indo-German collaborations sanctioned from 1957 up to the end of June, 1985 is 1,628.

New private investments from Germany rose marginally by DM 900,000 in 1984, taking the cumulative total to DM 215.4 million.

On the whole, German companies invested DM 9.3 billion abroad in 1984. India continued to be the sixth most attractive country for Germany investors on the Asian sub-continent, with Japan, Iran, Singapore, Israel and Hong Kong preceding.

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CSO: 4600/1032

INDIA

PAPER REPORTS DEVELOPMENTS IN TRADE WITH USSR

Changing Trends Noted

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 Sep 85 p 12

[Article by Tapan Dasgupta]

[Text] Moscow, September 23--The Indo-Soviet trade plan is expected to project the total volume in the next five years (1986-90) at over Rs 30,000 crores, almost twice the volume under the current plan. But its successful implementation will require major efforts on both sides.

The proposed exchange of visits of half a dozen trade, industrial, technical and engineering delegations between Moscow and New Delhi during the next two months followed by a Soviet science and technology exhibition in December in Bombay are a part of these efforts. The Soviet Union, recognises now, maybe belatedly, that if India has to be retained as a major supplier of consumer goods, it has to deal with the country's expanding private sector.

Now the Soviet Union is prepared to extend its high technology to the private sector and even go into for production co-operation. Till now, the USSR provided for India a major market for wide-ranging consumer products, from rice, tea and coffee to textiles, readymade garments, shoe uppers and storage batteries. In fact, the market for these goods is practically unlimited in the Soviet Union. But the Soviet capacity to lift more of these goods is obviously dependent on its exports to India, 80 percent of which are oil and petroleum products.

Pressure for Crude

With increasing pressure on Soviet crude and oil-based products within the east European block, the Soviet capacity to sell more of these to India will be strictly limited. Hence the emphasis on pushing exports of Soviet machinery.

The liberalised policies of the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, and the opening up of the Indian economy has "further complicated matters," as Mr I.T. Brishin, Soviet deputy minister of foreign trade, acknowledged.

During an interview, he ruefully remarked: "The new policy will mean that Soviet machinery will face stiff competition in the Indian market."

But the Soviet Union welcomes the new emphasis of the Indian government on improving the quality of consumer products. Over the years, Soviet consumers have become very sophisticated and quality conscious, and the authorities have to take note of the changing trends. This perhaps explains why as much as 30 percent of the textiles meant for export was rejected on grounds of sub-standard quality by the Soviet-appointed inspection agency. The result was that only 102 million square metres could be delivered till date by the Indian mills as against the export order of 202 million square metres in 1985. "The Soviet market cannot be taken for granted. It also asks for quality," Mr Grishin said.

Mr Grishin was merely indicating the change in consumer behaviour in the Soviet market. Nothing would gladden the heart of Russian more than to receive a pack of pure Darjeeling tea or a pair of jeans for his teenager son. The long queues at every counter in the departmental stores in Moscow indicate an explosion in consumer demand which the Soviet production line, with its emphasis on heavy industry, is hardpressed to cope with. The Soviet production machinery has been too slow to adjust to the changes in consumption trends with the result that anything "foreign" is regarded as good. VCRs are yet to invade the Russian market and Moscowite would only be too willing to pay a fancy price for a good stereo-system, preferably Japanese.

#### Possibilities Heightened

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 25 Sep 85 p 14

[Article by Tapan Dasgupta]

[Text] Moscow, September 24--The just concluded Soviet agreement with the National Textile Corporation to sell a large number of high-productivity looms against purchase of textiles during the next ten years, and the near finalisation of the contract to Indian firms to build three hotels on a turn-key basis in the Asiatic part of U.S.S.R. are a pointer to the kind of Indo-Soviet economic co-operation that is being contemplated.

The possibilities of bilateral economic co-operation have been further heightened by the fact that both the countries are headed by persons who are hard realists. The Indo-Soviet economic co-operation treaty extending up to 2000 AD which was signed here last May, was the first inter-governmental agreement for both the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, and the Soviet President, Mr Mikhail Gorbachov.

Mr Gorbachov's priority is said to be to effect radical improvement in the Soviet economy by checking the slowdown in the growth rate by introducing reforms in commodity-monetary relations. During a visit earlier in this month to Siberian oilfields he chided authorities for going in for the soft option of spudding more wells for increasing production instead of maximising the output of each well.



## Resource Gap

He told the management of an Ukrainian collective farm not to depend any longer on the government to meet its gap between the revenue from production and expenditure.

The 12th Soviet five-year plan beginning next year, which coincides with India's seventh plan, will stress wage goods production, bio-technology, electronics and of course agriculture, besides development of the Siberian region. With regard to heavy industry, the slogan is intensification and consolidation instead of further expansion.

An acute shortage of labour has limited the scope for further expansion of conventional industry, including automobiles. It has also forced the authorities to introduce automation and explore possibilities for production co-operation from outside. India, the most trusted and friendly partner of the Soviet Union among the developing countries, is the most natural choice.

Production co-operation can take various forms. Talking to a group of Indian journalists who visited a number of factories in Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev, Mr G.A. Shcherbakov of the department of Soviet economic relations committee said he was hopeful of the Soviet offer to set up two atomic units of 400 MW each in India coming through.

## Indian Equipment

The Soviet Union would maximise the use of Indian equipment in the enriched uranium-based plants for which about a one-billion rouble credit would be available.

Under the 10-year Indo-Soviet technical co-operation treaty, several big projects are being set up in India with Soviet credit and technical assistance. The projects are in the field of coal, oil and gas, ferrous metallurgy, machine building and modernisation of steel plants.

The scheme is expected to be finalised when a high-level Soviet delegation headed by a very senior executive of Gosplan (Soviet planning committee) visits New Delhi in October.

The shopping list would include a large quantity of spare parts, machine tools and simple equipment to be manufactured in India for use in the Soviet Union and third countries. Already a contract has been signed with the Bharat Heavy Electricals for the supply of 20 wenchers, costing Rs 3.2 crores, for use in the Soviet-aided coal mines of India.

Soviet authorities have also agreed to build a spare parts bank in India on the request of BHEL to ease difficulties of replacing worn-out parts in BHEL-built power plants of Soviet design.

## Diesel Engines

In automobile sector, production sharing may consist of Soviet-made trucks with Indian diesel engines. The Soviets are yet to begin production of diesel engines on a large scale for trucks, while Indian diesel trucks are now of international quality. The Soviet Union has already contracted for the purchase of 500 buses from India. The delivery, which began last year, is at the rate of 100 buses annually.

The five-year Indo-Soviet trade plan to be signed in November will include, for the first time, the service sector, besides collaboration in third-country projects and production co-operation in engineering sector.

Discussions are also going on for Soviet ships being allowed dry-docking facilities in Indian ports and promotion of group tourism.

Soviet authorities are serious about dispelling doubts about the excellence of Soviet machinery and equipment in high-tech areas. The expectation is that once Indian businessmen are convinced about the productivity of Soviet machinery, they will be placing purchase orders particularly when available against rupee payment.

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CSO: 4600/1039

INDIA

REPORT ON GANDHI MEETING WITH WPC TEAM

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 18 Sep 85 p 3

[Text]

Hoping for the success of the summit meeting between Soviet leader Gorbachyov and President Reagan in Geneva in November, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi emphasised the urgency for creating an understanding to end international tension.

Mr Gandhi, who met a delegation of World Peace Council members led by its chairman Romesh Chandra, on Monday, informed them of the situation in Punjab and the efforts of the Government and the people of India to combat the anti-Indian terrorism, which, he told them, was being planned and helped from abroad.

The delegation which met the Prime Minister included former President of Mexico Luis Echeverria, British Labour MP James Lamond, former President of Portugal General Francisco da Costa Gomes, President of the Supreme Council of Revolution of Democratic Republic of Malagasy Richard Andriamanjato, writer, poet and vice-president of WPC Rev. John Hanley Morgan, WPC secretary Bahig Nassar, and Director of the Academy of Oriental Studies Academician E.M. Primakov.

**Issues discussed:** Talking to newsmen on Tuesday in the Capital, WPC Chairman Romesh Chandra said that other issues

discussed with the Prime Minister included the need to stop the 'Star Wars' programme, ending of all nuclear tests, ways to achieve the New International Economic Order, liberation of Namibia and South Africa, and ways to work for peace and security in Asia.

Mr Primakov said that the Prime Minister made a distinction between individual terrorism and national liberation movements.

Commenting on the reported secret agreement between USA and UK under which the former will take over the latter in the event of a war, Mr James Lamond said that the people of Britain were certainly concerned about the reported agreement and that he along with others would take up this issue in a big way during the coming session of Parliament.

**Initiatives for India:** The delegation informed the Prime Minister of the initiatives taken by the WPC in mobilising public opinion for the efforts of India, the Non-Aligned Movement and the signatories to the New Delhi Declaration.

Mr Romesh Chandra said that there was a complete identity of views between Mr Gandhi and the WPC delegation. The latter expressed full support for the peaceful foreign policy of India.

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CSO: 4600/1029

INDIA

REPORT ON GANDHI SPEECH TO TRADE UNION CONGRESS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 20 Sep 85 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, September 19.

**T**HE Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, today told management and labour that industry must earn what it gets "and this can only be done with higher productivity."

"There cannot be handouts, there cannot be welfare in industry," unless there was higher productivity, Mr. Gandhi told the general council of the Indian National Trade Union Congress. Incentives for higher productivity could be discussed, he said.

The Prime Minister spoke at length on the public sector and reminded its detractors that profit norms, by which the private sector was judged, should not be applied to state undertakings whose gains included development of an area, technical training of its people and fostering of a new temper.

Referring to the sick mills and the charge that they were deliberately made sick, he said: "If the management is seen to deliberately make a particular unit sick, then they must be made accountable for it in some manner". Taking over every mill, he said, — might be a little excessive, but the management "must pay a penalty that will affect them as a management. And we will do something to make this happen".

He said units did not go sick only because of management or labour or some other infrastructure problem but also because they get too old and non-viable.

Earlier, in his speech, Mr. Gandhi referred to modernisation, which he described as "one of the biggest problems of industry." He cited the steel industry as illustrative of the problem and asked, "If it is costing us twice or

three times to produce a critical item like steel, who is paying for this? If you just stop to think for a minute, it is paid for by a reduction of industrial growth, it is paid for by every single person in this country."

He also said: "It is in labour's interest that labour is given the training to be able to cope with tomorrow's industries."

He mentioned the seventh plan aims of generating more employment and said that with the development of electronics, spread of television and rise in affluence, a lot of vocational industries would come up.

Refuting accusations, he said: "One hears often, that the rich have grown richer and the poor have grown poorer. There is actually nothing further from the truth."

The seventh plan, would pay "very special" attention not just to the poor, but to the poorest amongst the poor.

Stating that the thrust for a socialist society must continue, he noted that socialism and too much government assistance did not reduce productivity. Referring to the recent visit to Kerala, he described it as: one of the most advanced states, with the best social welfare system, highest education and the best hospitals. The death rate in Kerala is very low and comparable with that in Scandinavian countries, but there was no production, he said.

He cautioned against a tendency to shift towards industrial violence and said: "You can do a lot to reduce violence."

Addressing the conference, the labour minister, Mr. T. Anjaiah, pointed out that long-term wage settlements had brought about stability in major sectors, but there were some urgent problems on criteria for selection of a

collective bargaining agent and verification of trade union membership for recognition and setting up of an industrial relations commission.

Earlier, in his address, the INTUC president, Mr. G. Ramanujam, acknowledged that productivity should be the joint responsibility of labour and management.

As for closures, the INTUC leader urged the government to set up standing compact tripartite bodies, both for prevention of sickness and for nursing back to health units which had already fallen sick.

He pledged the support of the trade union movement, "which is above all considerations of race, religion, language, caste, creed and other divisive forces", to carry the message of unity and integrity to the people.

PTI & UNI add: Referring to the demand for raising the maximum limit of bonus from Rs. 1,600 and removal of other anomalies in the Bonus Act, he promised that finance minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, and the labour minister, Mr. T. Anjaiah, would look into them.

On the challenge of the 21st century, the Prime Minister said the question that had to be pondered over was, in what condition the country would be at that time.

Would it be in tune with the rest of the world in technology and development or would it be just dragging on, he asked. In such an eventuality, the poorer sections would be the main sufferers, Mr. Gandhi said.

He also stressed the need for a special kind of education in industry and steps to avoid industrial accidents.

Referring to organised and unorganised sectors of industries, the Prime Minister stressed the need for framing policies which would help the unorganised sector and its labour. "The real problem is with the unorganised sector and we must take more interest in it," he said.

Regarding quality maintenance, he said it was "sadly" lacking. Formerly goods produced in India had a name in other countries. But the dedication to produce such quality goods was lacking today. The dignity of labour should be restored, he said.

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CSO: 4600/1030

INDIA

## SCREENING COMMITTEES TO ELIMINATE CORRUPTION

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 20 Sep 85 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, September 19  
(PTI)

**T**HE Central government has decided to set up internal screening committees in various ministries and departments to weed out corrupt and ineffective officials.

The screening committees would review the cases of officials who have completed 50 to 55 years of age or 30 years of service and are of doubtful integrity or whose performance has been consistently poor.

Action against these officials will be taken by invoking the provisions of fundamental rule 56(J), rule 48 of the central civil service (pension) rules and other relevant rules, an official announcement here yesterday said.

The screening committees are proposed to be set up as a permanent standing arrangement.

### PERSONAL RECORD

A separate screening committee will be constituted for each different rank or each different functional area, the announcement said.

The committees would include senior officers who have had the occasion to know the work and conduct of the officials whose cases might have to be reviewed.

The screening committees would prepare a comprehensive brief on each official being considered for premature

retirement after making an assessment of his entire service record.

The personal record of the officer and documents dealing with the allegations or doubts about his integrity in the past would be taken into account.

The report of the screening committee will be placed before the review committee of the particular ministry or department which will decide on the continuance or otherwise of the official in service.

According to the department of personnel and training, administrative reforms and public grievances and pensioner's welfare, which issued a circular to constitute the screening committees, premature retirement under fundamental rule 56(J) is not a punishment, bears no stigma and has no civil consequences. As such opportunity to show cause will not ordinarily be given to the official concerned before retiring him prematurely.

However, various ministries and departments have been advised to make it absolutely sure that action taken under these provisions is in public interest and not arbitrary or mala fide, it said.

The department has also clarified that premature retirement is not to be used as a substitute for formal disciplinary proceedings to retire a government servant on grounds of specific acts of misconduct.

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CSO: 4600/1030

INDIA

ANALYST NOTES ACHIEVEMENTS IN SRI LANKA TALKS

Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Sep 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Sept. 19.

After five rounds of talks with the ENLF leaders spread over three days, the Government of India has been able to narrow the differences between the Tamil militants and the Sri Lankan authorities on an effective internal supervision of the ceasefire without involving any international agency or peace-keeping force in this effort.

It has obtained the concurrence of the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, to the formation of non-official supervisory bodies consisting of representatives of the Tamil, Sinhala and Muslim communities in the Northern and Eastern provinces to inquire into violations and suggest remedial action.

### Other points

The other points emerging from these discussions, which have been referred to Colombo for the concurrence of the Sri Lankan Government, include steps to disarm Home Guards and armed civilians, confine troops to barracks, lift curfew and dismantle military check-posts, abolish surveillance zones and permit fishing, along with adequate assurances by the Sri Lanka Government that it would not open any new army camps or allow attacks on Tamils or order offensive operations against the militants. The militants, in return, will refrain from attacks on military patrols, police posts or Sinhala civilians, not to set up any new camps or indulge in any other activity amounting to a violation of the ceasefire agreement.

### Formal arrangement

The Government of India is striving hard to firm up these ground rules and include them in a formal ceasefire arrangement to prevent further bloodshed and help create the right atmosphere for resumption of negotiations. But a major lacuna in this understanding that India is trying to work out is the absence of a binding commitment by both sides not to use this *inter-*

*regnum* for augmenting their arms supplies and enhancing their offensive capability for resuming the fight in the event of a breakdown of the ceasefire or inability to arrive at a political settlement.

The Government of India, in an effort to sustain the atmosphere of expectation, came out with a brief statement today holding out the prospect of a formal ceasefire arrangement soon. It was stated by an official spokesman that the ENLF leaders here assured that "so long as the Sri Lankan security forces and para-military forces including the Home guards do not carry out any operations against civilian population, refugee camps or Tamil organisations, they on their part will not undertake any hostile acts".

The statement noted that the Sri Lankan Government had already announced that it would observe the ceasefire and that the ENLF, too, had expressed a desire to have binding arrangements for its effective observance. It expressed the hope that the assurances given by both sides would be faithfully observed and further loss of life avoided "pending the coming into force of a formal ceasefire agreement".

### Satisfied

The ENLF leaders have been very satisfied with their 90-minute meeting with the Prime Minister on Tuesday, when they gave him a detailed account of the horrid atrocities being committed by the Sri Lankan Army on the Tamils, especially in the Eastern Province. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, who had the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Romesh Bhandari, the chief of RAW, Mr. G. C. Saxena, and the Additional Secretary in his Secretariat, Mr. C. R. Garekhan, to assist him during this discussion, avoided scrupulously any impression that he was trying to pressure them in urging them not to foreclose the option of seeking a negotiated settlement.

At his five rounds of talks with them, the Foreign Secretary had with him either together or in groups the Electricity Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr. S. Ramachandran, the Congress (I) general secretary, Mr. G. K. Moopanar, and the two Tamil Nadu Congress (I) MPs, Mr. P. Chidambaram and Mr. Rangarajan Kumaramangalam, besides officials of the External Affairs and Home Ministries dealing with the Sri Lankan problem. But these political leaders did not participate in the discussions as such other than interpreting some of the finer points because of the language difficulties between Mr. Bhandari, who does not know Tamil and some of the militants who do not speak English to the extent of carrying on serious political conversation.

### **Separate meetings**

After concluding these prolonged discussions with all the ENLF leaders who have come from Madras, Mr. Bhandari started having separate meetings with representatives of the four constituents of the Front. He met the leaders of LTTE and EPRLF today and is due to

have similar sessions tomorrow with the representatives of TELO and EROS to get to know all these leaders better and establish proper personal contact with them.

The talks with the Foreign Secretary have so far been confined to the consolidation of the extended ceasefire, although the Prime Minister made a brief reference to the desirability of an early resumption of negotiations. The ENLF leaders, who have been greatly agitated over the ceasefire violations, have had no time to study the text of the working paper and its annexures given to them at their first meeting with Mr. Bhandari on Tuesday to enable them to prepare for detailed discussions on the subject.

After the ceasefire arrangements had been finalised, the ENLF leaders would like to go back to Madras for a few days for consultations with their colleagues on the substantive aspects of the proposed devolution and return to Delhi for a point-by-point discussion on the contents of the working paper in the light of the elucidations provided by the Sri Lankan Government.

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CSO: 4600/1031



INDIA

# KASHMIR GOVERNOR MEETS WITH GANDHI IN DELHI

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Sep 85 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, September 20.

THE Jammu and Kashmir governor, Mr. Jagmohan, met the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, last night amid reports that the former had recommended urgent Central action in Kashmir to curb anti-national and secessionist groups which had recently intensified their activities.

Mr. Jagmohan flew in here yesterday from Srinagar and had a 30-minute meeting with Mr. Gandhi and gave a detailed assessment of the situation in the valley.

The governor also met the President, Mr. Zail Singh, at noon today.

In a recent report sent to the Union home ministry, Mr. Jagmohan is reported to have stated that the chief minister, Mr. G. M. Shah, and the J and K government were not being firm enough against the secessionist and anti-national elements who were preparing for a campaign "to liberate Kashmir".

He is reported to have stated that fundamentalist organisations in Kashmir were planning to transform their religious programmes into a political movement. He cited several instances of some government employees extending patronage to organisations like the Jammāt-e-Islami

and the Jammāt-e-Tulba which were taking a leading part in this movement.

The Union home minister, Mr. S. B. Chavan, recently visited Srinagar to check on the governor's reports. He is believed to be convinced that much of what the governor had reported was correct.

The situation appears to have assumed a serious complexion with reports of attempts at infiltration being made from Pakistan. The campaign slogan of the fundamentalist organisations is to start an "Iran-type revolution."

The movement was started with Pakistani flags being hoisted at 50 places in the valley on the Pakistan national day on August 14. The Indian independence day was observed as "black day". Anti-India posters were plastered all over.

Three members of the Kashmir assembly, Mr. P. L. Handoo, Mr. Mohammad Shafi and Mr. Bhim Singh, were suspended from the house on the first day of the budget session on August 17 when they raised the matter of hoisting of Pakistani flags.

While the steps taken by the state government were inadequate, the former chief minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, condemned these activities.

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CSO: 4600/1032

INDIA

## ACHIEVEMENTS OF ECONOMIC MISSION TO JAPAN REPORTED

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Sep 85 p 9

[Article by K.V. Narain]

[Text]

TOKYO, Sept. 22.

The high-power Indian economic mission led by Mr. L. K. Jha special adviser to the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, left for home after completing a busy visit here which he was reasonably confident would prove to be constructive.

Mr. Jha left Tokyo with a positive impression. At the political level, he found that the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Yasuhiro Nakasone had great warmth for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi while at the economic level the mission encouraged Japanese entrepreneurs to come to India with investments. He found the Japanese were now more enthusiastic to invest in India. The word 'liberalisation' was very attractive.

A second objective of the Jha mission was to prepare the ground for the forthcoming visit to Japan of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

Mr. Jha said that discussions with the Japanese business community were both frank and friendly. 'We have gone beyond the stage of merely exchanging courtesies,' he said, adding 'our visit opens a new chapter in positive cooperation in Indo-Japanese relations.'

The members met all the key Japanese Ministers and the presidents of Keidanren (federation of economic organisations) and the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, among others.

**Areas identified:** Possible areas of collaboration had been identified. Indo-Japanese cooperation 'acquires special importance for us' Mr. Jha said and noted 'our quest for high technology makes us to turn to Japan as a very important source.' He pointed out that Indian industries were not competitive in the world because of the protected market they had long enjoyed. As such, it was necessary that Indian industries should become highly competitive. 'Therefore, we want to give high priority to high-tech industries so that competition will be keen,' he said.

The Japanese parties wanting to collaborate had spoken about delays, complicated bureaucratic procedures and restrictions before ventures could be finalised. This was true to some extent but the Government of India was now taking quicker decisions and relaxing various controls and liberalising imports, Mr. Jha said.

Broadly speaking, the Jha mission gave special attention to the fields of telecommunications, fibre optics, consumer electronics like video cameras and biotechnology. India also wants to upgrade technology in the older industries like steel and textiles.

On both sides, there was a keen desire for and expectation of what can be gained by improving economic cooperation and that the time for it was right. India attached importance to science and technology and therefore in these areas, particularly electronics, Japanese cooperation would be welcome. The Japanese would also take advantage of India's economic liberalisation and many of them had formed favourable views about the possibility of cooperation.

Although a large number of scientists were working abroad in the field of high technology India was not far ahead and, therefore, this was one area of possible collaboration with Japan. Biotechnology could play an important role and in this area and 'we will be breaking fresh ground', he said.

Mr. Jha drew attention to the fact that the World Bank has praised India's performance. The growth rate was over five per cent and the foreign exchange position was comfortable. The capital market with low interest rates could provide finance on more attractive terms and Japanese investors would be getting a greater return for their money in India.

By the end of this century, India would be a market worth \$100 billions in capital goods and \$220 billions a year in consumer goods.

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CSO: 4600/1036

INDIA

INDIA SIGNS 'MAJOR' IRON ORE PACT WITH BAHRAIN

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 24 Sep 85 p 2

[Text]

**Dubai, Sept 23 (UNI)**—India signed a major contract yesterday with Bahrain's Arab Iron and Steel Company (AISCO) to supply seven million tonnes of iron ore concentrate on a long-term basis in the next five years.

The contract was signed between AISCO chairman Hussain Al Jasem and visiting chairman-cum-managing director of the Kudremukh Iron Ore Project, K K Rao in Bahrain. Supplies from India would meet 70 per cent of AISCO's requirements.

Mr Rao told UNI on telephone today that India has supplied half a million tonnes of iron ore to AISCO in the last couple of years on a trial basis but from now on, varying quantities of ore would be sent depending upon AISCO's year to year requirement within the overall commitment.

Mr Rao declined to give financial details of the deal but said that AISCO got best quotations from India. Besides, the freight charges involved would be much less due to the geographical proximity of the two countries.

Indian ambassador S K Bhatnagar described the agreement as a "landmark" in Indo-Bahrain relations, pointing out that following the visit of Bahrain Amir Shaikh Issa to India in 1981

and that of Indian President Zail Singh to this gulf island in 1983, trade relations between the two countries had steadily been growing.

India buys some \$ 150 million worth of kerosene and aviation fuel from Bahrain annually.

Mr Rao said that the Kudremukh Project, which initially had some teething trouble due to lack of orders, had obtained a large order for over one million tons this year from Japan also and new markets were being explored in Holland, West Germany, France and Czechoslovakia.

Mr Rao said that during the current financial year, India had already supplied 180,000 tonnes of ore to Bahrain and an equal quantity was due to be shipped in October.

Later, by March, about 200,000 tonnes would be sent while from next year onwards, between one to 1.8 million tonnes would be shipped each year during the contracted period.

The Kudremukh Plant can produce 7.5 million tonnes of iron ore a year. Its new pelletising unit being commissioned next year in collaboration with Lurgi of West Germany would produce about

three million tonnes of pellets in a year.

Bahrain had formally inaugurated its \$ 300 million AISCO plant in December 1983 after about six months of trial runs with blessings from its neighbouring oil-rich Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states.

According to the AISCO chairman, the Arab world's demand for steel was estimated at about 20000 million tonnes in the next five years and the pelletisation plant in Bahrain had been set up with a view to feeding the steel mills which at present either exist or are being built in Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Algeria, Egypt and Libya.

Owned by various companies and state agencies from Bahrain, Jordan and Kuwait, the AISCO plant can produce up to four million tonnes of pellets at full capacity every year.

Mr Rao, who visited the AISCO plant along with Mr Jasim today, said that India itself had a lot of requirement for iron pellets due to the increasing demand for steel in the country.

In this regard, the Government was encouraging the setting up of mini steel plants which, he said, would be economically viable units.

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CSO: 4600/1037

INDIA

ACHIEVEMENTS OF DEFENSE LABORATORIES REPORTED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 Sep 85 p 13

[Text] New Delhi, September 23 (PTI)--Forty two laboratories of the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) have achieved significant success in indigenisation of technology particularly in the field of small arms, guns, ammunition, instruments, ballistics and modern explosives, and developed over 800 sophisticated equipment to meet the growing needs of India's defence.

The laboratories in the national quest for a self-reliant defence posture endeavour to provide the research, design and development base for meeting the needs of the armed forces, ranging from aircraft, missiles, torpedoes, radars and tanks to frozen food and nuclear medicine.

A sizeable measure of self-sufficiency has been achieved in the areas of small arms and ammunition. The Ishapore rifle, the mountain gun and the Indian field gun mark to which DRDO made significant contributions, are now in use. A self-propelled artillery gun has also come into production. Various types of proximity fuses have also been developed.

One of the prestigious projects of defence R and D is related to the design and development of the Main Battle Tank (MBT), christened Arjun, the prototype of which is already developed. It has a powerful 120 MM rifled gun capable of firing rounds of exceptional lethality.

The tank has a most advanced gun control system and associated opto-electronics with the capability to fire on the move on a moving target. Test bed experiments, conducted at the Combat Vehicles Research and Development Establishment, Avadi, Madras, show the transmission's ability to transmit 1,000 hours power at an overall efficiency of around 90 per cent which is quite comparable to some of the best designs developed elsewhere.

Besides, important contributions of DRDO in MBT consist of developing a high energy propellant and semi-combustible cartridge cases for use in its ammunition.

The semi-combustible cartridge cases save the use of imported metal and alloys and help in logistics also. High energy propellant gives MBT gun ammunition a greater range and higher penetration into the armour.

Two major missile systems have been developed by DRDO for the army. The first is the anti-tank missile which is completely indigenous in design and has established the specified level of performance. The second is the medium range surface-to-air missile which has undergone flight trials successfully. Another achievement is the development of a rapid fire multi-barrel rocket system. An interim test range is now being set up in the country for resting rockets, missiles and targets.

Indigenous technology for making large size solid propellant grains has also been established. Consequently a number of propellants for surface-to-air, surface-to-surface and air-to-surface missiles have been developed to meet the specific requirements of the armed forces.

Breaching of mine fields is one of the important requirements of the army, to facilitate advancement of troops in the battlefield. A device designated 'Chargeline mine clearing' to clear a safe line has been developed which has proved an important equipment for the infantry.

In the field of armoured and specialist vehicles, the important achievements of DRDO include Shaktiman, amphibian vehicle, all-purpose bridging vehicle, recovery vehicles and powered axle trailer. Tasks of mounting 40 MM gun on Shaktiman, 106 MM RCL gun, 7.62 MM, MMG and 0.5 HMG on Jonga vehicles have also been successfully completed.

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CSO: 4600/1039

INDIA

VIR BAHADUR SINGH NEW UTTAR PRADESH CHIEF MINISTER

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 25 Sep 85 p 1

[Text]

LUCKNOW, September 24.

**M**R. Vir Bahadur Singh, who was irrigation minister in the cabinet headed by Mr. N. D. Tiwari, took the oath of office and secrecy as Uttar Pradesh chief minister at Raj Bhavan here today evening. The oath was administered by the governor, Mr. Mohammad Usman Arif.

Mr. Vir Bahadur Singh was earlier unanimously elected legislature Congress party leader amidst shouts of "Rajiv Gandhi zindabad". His name was proposed by Mr. Tiwari, who resigned yesterday, and seconded by Mr. Baldev Singh Arya, Mr. Lokpati Tripathi and Mr. Said-ul-Hasan, all former ministers.

He told newsmen after taking the oath that a "small cabinet" would be sworn in tomorrow, but refused to divulge names of his aides. He said merit would be the criterion for the selection of his colleagues.

Mr. Vir Bahadur Singh asserted that he had no prior information of his being tipped for the chief ministership. It was a surprise to him.

Open Secret

The election of Mr Singh was a foregone conclusion, although Congress leaders claimed there was an overwhelming consensus on his candidature among the MLAs, MLCs and MPs who attended the legislature party meeting.

It was no secret that the three central observers — Mr. G. K. Moopanar, Mr. Sitaram Kesari, general secretary and treasurer of the AICC, respectively, and Mr. H. K. L. Bhagat, Union parliamentary affairs minister, had arrived here from Delhi yesterday with Mr. Singh top on the panel of three names for choosing a successor to Mr. Tiwari.

Perhaps none among the scores of legislators who met the central observers yesterday night and today morning could suggest any other name. It is stated that Mr. Singh received the "first authentic signal" in favour of him after 10.30 yesterday night.

Mr. Bhagat said the legislators favoured Mr. Singh because he had his base at the grassroot level.

Soon after Mr. Tiwari resigned yesterday, Mr. Singh's supporters were very enthusiastic about his prospects. But there were many among the outgoing ministers who, while accepting that Mr. Singh stood a good chance this time, were apprehensive of some "surprise", even minutes before the legislature party meeting began.

Meanwhile, the opposition leaders said it was wrong on the part of the chief minister, Mr. N. D. Tiwari, to have resigned especially when 42 districts were reeling under the flood fury.

The opposition leader in the state assembly, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav, said the resignation of the chief minister, coming after seven months of his forming a government, showed that he had lost "sympathy of the Centre."

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CSO: 4600/1040

INDIA

## ONGC CHIEF TELLS PLANS FOR OIL PRODUCTION

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 15 Sep 85 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, September 14.

A comprehensive plan for enhanced recovery of oil from the existing fields and production of oil from new finds has been finalised by the Oil and Natural Gas Commission and submitted to the Union ministry of petroleum for its approval.

Under this plan, indigenous production of crude oil is proposed to be stepped up progressively by at least ten million tonnes during the seventh plan period. This will help in narrowing the gap between the demand and availability of oil.

Addressing a crowded press conference today, the ONGC chief, Col. S. P. Wahi, presented very optimistic oil scenario. He said that over 73 per cent of the demand for oil will continue to be met through indigenous production during the seventh plan. But this optimism was not shared by official circles.

Col. Wahi said that against the estimated production of 30.22 million tonnes of oil from indigenous resources during the current year, the availability would be 40.76 million tonnes at the end of the seventh plan.

He said the main thrust during the plan period would be on intensifying exploration activities. A major de-

parture from the strategy followed in the past was being made. Earlier, efforts were concentrated in basins where success had already been achieved. Efforts were now proposed to be made in areas other than those where the drilling activity had so far been concentrated. The latest oil finds in Bombay High have given rise to hopes of additional finds during the seventh plan period.

Col. Wahi said that the production rate of 3,400 barrels a day in the well recently located in a satellite field on the periphery of Bombay High was extremely encouraging. After drilling two more additional exploration wells, it would be possible to evaluate the size of the oil pool and thereafter take immediate steps to start production. From the existing one itself it would be possible to obtain almost 175,000 tonnes of oil per annum.

Col. Wahi and other members of the commission, who were present at the press conference, explained that as a result of sustained efforts it had been possible to increase the domestic production of oil significantly during the sixth plan period. As against 36 per cent of the demand which was being met through indigenous production during 1980-81, it was now possible to meet 73 per cent of the demand.

Col. Wahi explained proper emphasis was also being placed on research and development. The reorganisation of R and D, he said, had already started showing results. In addition to the existing institutes of petroleum exploration, reservoir engineering and drilling technology, the other institutes of engineering and ocean technology and production technology are in the process of being set up.

Answering a question, Col. Wahi said due attention was being given to environmental impact and operation. The commission had set up a separate department of environment and safety. A constant vigil was being maintained to help control pollution and bring about improvement in the existing environment within "our operational areas." Besides, implementation of effluent disposal schemes had been given priority.

PTI adds: The ONGC will start supplying gas to the Rs. 1,000-crore Hazira fertiliser project from Monday, Col. Wahi announced.

Col. Wahi told newsmen that ONGC would make sure that the supply of gas to priority customers is maintained while gas is being supplied to the fertiliser project from Bombay High.

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CSO: 4600/1041

INDIA

BRIEFS

BENGAL PCC CHIEF--New Delhi, September 22 (PTI)--Mr Priyaranjan Das Munshi has been appointed the president of the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee (WBPPCC). He replaces Mr Pranab Mukherjee whose resignation has been accepted, the AICC general secretary, Mr G.K. Moopanar, told PTI here today. Mr Moopanar said Mr Munshi was appointed as the PCC president by the Congress president, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, after ascertaining the views of various sections of the state party. The central leadership is hopeful that Mr Munshi would be able to contain the factionalism in the West Bengal unit of the Congress. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 23 Sep 85 p 1]

FAMINE IN RAJASTHAN--Jaipur, September 21--Rajasthan is in the grip of the worst famine in living memory, according to the chief minister, Mr Harideo Joshi. Mr Joshi told a press conference today that there had been practically no rain in the state after August 10. In 15 districts the shortfall was from 20 percent to 68 percent and in nine districts it was about 19 percent. Over 70 percent of the crops have been damaged this year, while in a famine year the damage to crops is around 50 percent. He said 75 percent of the 37,584 villages in the state had been affected. However, the most formidable challenge was the supply of drinking water. The state government did not have the wherewithal to meet it. The chief minister said the state government would need about Rs 500 crores for providing succour to the famine-affected people. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Sep 85 p 9]

AMBASSADOR TO ROME--New Delhi, September 13--Mr Akbar Mirza Khaleeli, joint secretary in the ministry of external affairs, has been appointed India's ambassador in Rome. He succeeds Mr Homi J.H. Taleyarkhan, who is returning home after a 15-month assignment in Italy. He is being appointed a member of the minorities commission. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 14 Sep 85 p 9]

UTTAR PRADESH DIVISION--Lucknow, Sept 20--The State Cabinet today decided to set up a new civil division with its headquarters at Kanpur, according to Chief Minister Narain Dutt Tewari. Talking to newsmen this evening, Mr Tewari disclosed that the new division, carved out from Allahabad division, would consist of four districts--Kanpur, Kanpur Dehat, Farrukhabad and Etawah. The Cabinet today also decided to set up a new director-



ate to look after a new crop insurance scheme for one crore farming families of the State. A Rs four crore fund would be jointly set up by the State Government and the Centre on a 50-50 basis. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 21 Sep 85 p 5]

TWO PARTIES MERGE--New Delhi, Sept 20 (UN)--The Rashtriya Lok Dal (RLD), headed by Swami Indraves, and the Samanta Party (SP) led by the former Uttar Pradesh chief minister, Mr Ram Naresh Yadav, yesterday decided to formally merge to "take the lead in forming a national alternative to the ruling party." A decision to this effect was taken at a joint meeting of representatives of the two parties presided over by Mr Yadav. It was also decided to hold a general body meeting of workers of the two parties here on November 24 to finalise the new party's name and programme. Among those who attended the meeting included the RLD general secretary Mr S.P. Gautam, the Bihar unit president Mr Gajendra Prasad Himansu, Mr Devendra Prasad Yadav, MLC, Mr Raj Nath Sonkar, Mr Sharda Prasad Shukla, MLA, and Mr Narasingh Yadav. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 21 Sep 85 p 7]

INDO-SOVIET PUBLISHING PROTOCOL--Moscow, Sept 20 (UNI)--The All-Union Copyright Agency, in continuation of the 1981 protocol, has signed a new protocol on cooperation with the Federation of Indian Publishers (FIP) at the fifth Moscow International Book Fair held here recently, reports APN. Addressing the signing ceremony, Mr Vladimir Bogatov, deputy chairman of the copyright agency board, pointed out that cooperation with Indian publishers in the past years had developed successfully. The new protocol would, no doubt, further strengthen and promote Soviet-Indian contacts in book publishing and exchange, he said. During the 1985 Moscow Book Fair, Mr Bogatov stressed, the All-Union Copyright Agency had signed more than 40 export-import contracts with Indian firms. This was double the contracts signed at the last fair held in Moscow in 1983. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 21 Sep 85 p 5]

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CSO: 4600/1042

IRAN

EDITORIAL BLAMES ARABS INACTION IN FACE OF ISRAELI ATTACK

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 7 Oct 85 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text]

The brutal attack of the Zionist air force against the P.L.O. headquarters in Tunis was a very important international incident. However, the Islamic world, particularly the Arab countries have failed to pay due attention to the event. These governments have done nothing apart from a traditional condemnation of the Zionist action, and repeating some anti-Israeli slogans.

More dangerous incidents are to follow if different dimensions of the Zionist action are not carefully considered.

The territory of no Arab country is safe from Zionist aggression precisely because these terrorist measures go unanswered. Arab governments have intentionally ignored their duties and subsequently sullied their honor. This surely encourages Israel to continue its criminal deeds.

In the summer of 1982, Israel attacked Lebanon through land, air, and sea and later called in NATO forces for assistance. But the Arab governments did not respond. This encouraged Israel to become bolder and openly interfere in the Lebanese political process. As a result, Tel Aviv played a leading role in installing the Lebanese Phalangists as chieftans in the government of that country. This was the first time that Israel appointed a government in an Arab country. Still the Arab regimes turned a blind eye and kept studied silence.

Now, after three years, the territory of Tunis is violated by the Zionists, and we are witnessing the same inaction in practice.

Arab reaction is acting with extreme subservience. They want to describe this cowering as representative

of the whole Arab and even Islamic world. Indeed, Arab reaction is in such a low state that it does not even want to postpone its initiative for negotiations with the Zionists in the wake of this incident. It is a customary government procedure to postpone negotiations in order to protest a particular action. But Arab reaction does not want to create the slightest hitch in the process of compromising with the Zionists for their gross violations of Tunisian territory.

In a letter to the government of Sweden, Egypt has urged that country to continue its efforts to convince more Arab governments to compromise with Israel. The letter stresses that Egypt and Jordan believe Israel's attack on Tunis must not stop Sweden from mediating between the Arabs and Zionists. Israel's action and U.S. approval of it has put Jordan and Egypt in an awkward position, but their yen for compromise remains unchanged.

This means that those reactionary governments are not concerned over the territorial violation of an Arab country. They are only anxious because this incident may become an obstacle to compromise with Tel Aviv.

This undignified position the Arab reaction has adopted puts more responsibility on the Arab people. The Arab people have to take a position against the U.S. and Israel, and try to stop their reactionary governments from complete surrender to Tel Aviv's will.

The Muslim people of Egypt play a particularly interesting role here, and may become a decisive factor in defeating the plans of the United States, Israel, and the Arab reaction.

According to available reports, the Muslims of Egypt have waged strong protests in condemnation of Tel Aviv's action and their government's silence. If this movement continues it can be a good beginning for protesting against Israel's crimes, and breaking the silence of the Arab reaction. In the wake of this, Muslims all over the world may well rise against Tel Aviv's adventurism. Without such a widespread Islamic movement the Zionist regime will not acknowledge any restraining element with regard to her actions.

JPRS-NEA-85-138  
20 November 1985

## BRIEFS

HIZBALLAH OFFICIAL COMMENTS--The chief of the Lebanon Hizballah group affiliated to the Islamic Republic of Iran denounced the abduction of the Soviet diplomats. Shaykh Subh i al-Tufayli, the chief of the Lebanese Hizballah, said in an interview with a correspondent of the leftist Lebanon newspaper AL-SAFIR that if the abductors of the Soviet diplomats are Muslims, they should release their hostages, because this incident could result in harm to them in the area. Shaykh al-Tufayli has visited Tehran many times and has very close ties with the rulers of the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Shaykh al-Tufayli, who (?stressed) that he wished to know the identity of the abductors of the Soviet diplomats, added: All his efforts in this regard have been fruitless. He denied allegations of collaboration with groups which kidnap foreigners in Lebanon. He said: We are against the U.S. Government, not the U.S. people. The leader of the Lebanese Hizballah group added: Muslims do not have any connections with most of the groups active against foreigners in Lebanon. He only referred to the kidnapping on Dutch, British, and Soviet citizens, and did not mention the kidnapped American and French citizens. [Text] [(Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian 1330 GMT 25 Oct 85 GF]

BOMB AT ESFAHAN--A sonic bomb exploded at a distance of 150 meters from the Esfahan radio and television center. This disrupted transmissions of radio and television programs for quite a while. According to a Radio Najat-e Iran correspondent, some Esfahan guards arrived and all employees of the Esfahan radio and television center were evacuated from the building. Minutes later, the rooms allotted especially to the guards burst into flames. In this accident, for which no responsibility has yet been claimed by any individual or group, no human loss was sustained. [Text] [(Clandestine) Radio Najat-e Iran in Persian 0330 GMT 25 Oct GF]

BARTER TRADE WITH TURKEY--Ankara, Oct. 2 (IRNA)--Governor General of East Azarbaijan Province, Hassan Abedini, heading a delegation to Turkey to discuss issues related to border barter trade, met with the governor general of the Turkish eastern province of Agri, Tuesday. Speaking on the volume of border barter trade between Iran and Turkey, Abedini said that in 1981 the figure amounted to more than Rials 100m (\$1 m). The Agri governor general expressed willingness of his government to further expand barter trade and proposed that in exchange for Turkish goods, Iran exported tar and fuel oil, and Turkey cooperated with Iran in building border roads and railways. The East Azarbaijan official said that agricultural products and also tar would be exported to Agri in exchange for the Turkish cooperation. It was learned that in completing two road construction projects. The Agri governor general would travel to Iran in the near future to sign a relevant protocol. [Text] [Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 3 Oct 85 p 2]

PAKISTAN

NOORANI SAYS CONSTITUTION 'SHOULD NOT BE TOYED WITH'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Syed Imran Akbar]

[Text] Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, chief of the Jamiat-e-Ulema-e Pakistan, has disclosed that negotiations for the future political strategy are underway among several political parties and details will be released in a week's time.

Addressing a capacity crowd at the Rawalpindi Bar Association Maulana Noorani said it was too early to give any details regarding the future political line of action but meetings in Lahore during his Punjab tour had been fruitful.

Strongly defending the '73 Constitution, he said it was the only constitution which had given provincial autonomy. If this constitution was disturbed, then there would be no limit to the forces working against Pakistan. These forces, he said, had already started to gain momentum and a time might come when patriotic parties would become a majority.

Quoting from Muslim history, the Maulana said it was wrong to assert that Islam needed Martial Law as a crutch. It was the other way round, where the Martial Law rulers were desperately in need of Islam in order to prolong their "illegitimate rule". He said in the transitory periods during the rule of Khulafa-e Rashideen, the generals who had conquered the empires of Rome and Iran did not take over Madina on the pretext of a "political vacuum".

He said "fitting the constitution into the present situation" through the Amendment Bill would be a dilemma which would benefit one person but would prove dangerous for the nation. He said it was a tragedy that "we have become a nation expert in making and destroying constitutions".

Maulana Noorani pointed out that the present regime was possibly thinking on the lines of General Franco of Spain, who, in spite of being detested by the masses, ruled his country with an iron grip for 40 years. The outspoken leader said that "the farce of last year's referendum and the elections on a non-party basis were only aimed at prolonging Martial Law rule.

Commenting on the role of some politicians, he said the harm to political parties was done by some insiders who had Islamabad in mind instead of the

supremacy of Islam. The JUP chief claimed that he had often asked General Zia to name those politicians who had asked him to postpone elections.

The President had not named a single politician, he said.

Referring to Malaysia, the Maulana said its constitution was framed by a Pakistani judge 20 years ago, who skilfully manoeuvred to absorb the seven kingdoms, federation and the Islamic concept in the constitution. There has been four elections in that country and the constitution was still intact, he said.

When asked why the JUP stayed out of MRD, the Maulana said during the MRD movement, the JUP fully supported it when its leaders were behind bars. The JUP also succeeded in controlling the strong possibility of the eruption of linguistic riots and the confrontation between Punjabis and Sindhis, he claimed. Another factor, he said, was that the masses had started to believe that any such alliance almost always resulted in another Martial Law and it were the masses who suffered most.

Maulana Noorani said "the misdeeds of the present government surpassed the misdoings of the Bhutto government". He said the announcement of punishments, lashes and trials in torture cells without giving political workers a chance to defend themselves could result in a "bulky black paper detailing the Government's crimes.

Maulana Noorani concluded that the '73 Constitution was made with full consensus and meddling with it might create issues which could never be handled.

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CSO: 4600/63

PAKISTAN

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY QUESTION TIME

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Oct 85 p 8

[Text] Despite the lapse of six years, India has not allowed Pakistan to open its Consulate General in Bombay.

This was stated during question hour on the floor of National Assembly by Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Zain Noorani while responding to a question about the acquisition of the residence of the Father of the Nation in Bombay by Pakistan.

Making a statement after reading the written answer in reply to Haji Muhammad Yunis Elahi's question, the Minister of State said the lack of cooperation on the part of India was manifest when it refused to issue no objection certificate for construction of Consulate General office over a plot of land which was leased to Pakistan.

Mr. Noorani said the Governemnts of Pakistan and India agreed in September 1978 to reopen their respective Consulates General in Bombay and Karachi. The Indian Government established its Consulate General at Karachi in March 1979.

The Government of India gave an understanding that the Jinnah House in Bombay, after vacation by the British Deputy High Commissioner, would be leased to the government of Pakistan. This was confirmed in two statements made by the Indian Minister for External Affairs in Parliament on September 3, 1981 and March 25, 1982. Since the Government of India appeared to have reservations regarding the use of the premises for office or as some sort of a shirne, in 1981 Pakistan formally informed the Indian Government that the house would be used exclusively for the residence of the Consulate General, he added.

He said in accordance with the understanding the Indian Government terminated the lease held for the previous three decades by the British Government. At Pakistan's intercession, the British Deputy High Commissioner expeditiously

vacated the premises on April 30, 1985, but since then the Government of India has procrastinated in making the house available for the Pakistan Consulate General.

He further said, in the meantime similar lack of cooperation on the part of India was manifest in regard to Pakistan's proposal to construct a building for its Consulate General in Bombay. After considerable effort a vacant plot of land was located. When all other formalities were completed for its lease, the Government of India refused to issue the requisite no-objection certificate.

Meanwhile, the Minister of State said accepting the Indian promises of cooperation, the Government of Pakistan in anticipation permitted the Government of India to open its Consulate General in Karachi. For the last six years, India has enjoyed this facility unilaterally.

Mr. Noorani said the agreement regarding the establishment of the Consulate General of Pakistan in Bombay and that of India in Karachi was aimed at facilitating issue of visas, developing commercial and cultural contacts and promoting friendly relations between Pakistan and India. "We continue to hope that the Government of India will fulfil its obligations under the Vienna convention and the assurances given to Pakistan on this subject to enable the Government of Pakistan to open its Consulate General in Bombay", he said, and added a refusal to lease the Jinnah House for the Pakistan Consulate General is bound to undermine the credibility of India's commitments.

The Minister for Interior Mohammad Aslam Khattak, told the house that only those students crossed into Afghanistan for education in that country and the Soviet Union who did not come up to the required standard for admission in colleges and universities in the country.

Responding to a large number of supplementaries by members who expressed their anxiety over reported admission of large number of Pakistani students in Russian educational institutions through illegal means, the Minister said that he shared their concern.

He said normally some students went to these countries through irregular routes because Afghanistan and Soviet Union provided them extraordinary facilities like free boarding and lodging and even pocket money.

The Minister said that Pakistan had a long unmanageable border with Afghanistan which made it difficult for the authorities to check illegal exit of people across the border. Unauthorised exit was checked only through known routes.

As for admission of Pakistan students in Russian educational institutions with government permission, the Minister said such students were provided employment on their return to the country on some jobs, including Pakistan Steel Mills which had been set up with Russian help.



The Parliamentary Secretary for Interior, Makhdoom Syed Ali Raza, said that the Government provided jobs only to those students who went legally and with Government permission. The Establishment Division took care that they were not given sensitive posts. This policy was strictly followed, he told the members.

He said the Government did not have exact figures as to how many such students went to Afghanistan and Russia for acquiring education through illegal routes.

Islamuddin Skeikh, Minister of State for Production, told the house that an exercise was undertaken after every six months to know the strength of employees in the nationalised industrial units to determine province-wise strength, and efforts were made to remove the disparity in service as far as possible.

He told Abdul Hamid Khan Jatui in reply to his supplementary and a written question that disparity existed prior to taking over of these institutions from the private sector.

He told the member that at present Sind had 41.77 per cent quota in these units against its fixed quota of 19 per cent. He, however, said that the disparity in case of every province wherever it existed would be done away with.

In reply to a written question by the member, the Minister of State for Production said that the total number of workmen and supervisors in various organisations of the Ministry was 71746 while officers, who included Assistant Managers and above, were 5544. He also gave Provincial and regional quota for the posts in BPS-17.

Islamuddin Sheikh said the deficiency in prescribed quota was reviewed every six months and added a training scheme for young engineers was being launched.

The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Zain Noorani told the National Assembly there was no separate quota fixed for any province for posting abroad in foreign service. The officials for foreign posting are selected on overall basis in Pakistan, he added.

Responding to a supplementary posed by Abdul Hamid Jatui, the Minister said 19.1 per cent quota of Sind province was fixed in the Foreign Service, 7.6 per cent for urban Sind and 11.5 per cent for rural Sind.

Zain Noorani in response to another supplementary by the same member held out an assurance that if there was any disparity in Foreign Service postings abroad in relation to Sind Province, would be looked into. He added that justice would be done in this regard.

Answering to a question raised by Haji Muhammad Ynis Elahi, the Parliamentary Secretary said that the arms taken from Afghan refugees could not be legalised.

Makhdoom Syed Ali Reza, Parliamentary Secretary for Interior told a questioner that 93 centres were being planned to be set up for the treatment of drug-addicts in the country. About 26 centres are already functioning in various parts of the country to provide treatment facility to the drug-users, he added.

The Parliamentary Secretary for Interior told Sheikh Rashid Ahmed that no inquiry committee was set up to inquire into the reasons of the burning of the American Embassy in Islamabad a few years back.

He said police challenged 16 persons in this connection, eight of them were acquitted and six are facing trial while remaining two are absconding.

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CSO: 4600/63

PAKISTAN

WOMEN VOICE CONCERN OVER DISCRIMINATORY LAWS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Oct 85 p 6

[Text]

LAHORE, Oct. 14: The Women's Action Forum has opposed the Eighth Amendment Bill, and expressed concern particularly over the discriminatory laws, which the regime wanted to be validated, in contravention of the fundamental rights. The WAF also opposed the nomination of women to the reserved seats. These observations were made in a symposium on the "legal effects of the Eighth Amendment Bill to women in Pakistan".

While strongly opposing many provisions of the Eighth Amendment Bill, Mrs. Syeda Abida Hussain, said the battle for removing military rule from Pakistan had to be fought from within the Assemblies. She explained that the demands of the Independent Group did not include the exclusion of discriminatory laws like the Hadood Ordinance 1979, from the scope of validation.

Abid Hassan Minto addressing the symposium explained the principle of validation of law, whereby any malafide action was never validated in any civilised society, and each act seeking validation has to be separately reviewed to ascertain whether the action was bonafide and not made with malafide intentions. He said the Eighth Amendment Bill contravenes even the accepted notions of validation in our own country. No general validation and indemnity has been granted before. He also pointed out that the proposed amendments would change the whole character of the '73 Constitution.

Referring to the powers of the present Assembly, he said it was not elected as constituent assembly, as such it had no mandate to make basic changes in the Constitution. He expressed concern over the curtailment of the powers of the provincial Chief Ministers and apprehended that this action may further sow seeds of resentment among the provincial units of the country.

He criticised the procedure adopted by the Assembly under which the Assembly was seeking to amend the Constitution, as validation required a simple majority vote of the members whereas amendments to the Constitution could only be made by a two-thirds majority vote of the Assembly. He felt that even if the Independent Group's demands were accepted, the outcome would still be the birth of an oppressive and harmful constitutional document.

The Women's Action Forum unanimously passed a resolution whereby they opposed the Eighth Amendment Bill in its entirety. They showed concern particularly over the dichotomy of the provisions of the proposed document which it said were in contravention of the fundamental rights. The members of the Forum endorsed the views of Mrs. Abida Hussain. The Forum condemned the passage of the clause of the Eighth Amendment Bill which validated the continuation of this mode of election for women members of the legislature.

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CSO: 4600/64

PAKISTAN

ASGHAR, NOORANI HOLD TALKS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Oct 85 p 6

[Text] Air Marshal (Retd.) Mohammad Asghar Khan, Chief of defunct Tehrik-e-Istaqlal, and Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, head of defunct Jamiat-et Ulema-e Pakistan, had a meeting today at Hasanabdal. The meeting lasted for an hour.

They reviewed JUP's association and cooperation with the MRD and the future line of action in the wake of adoption of 8th Amendment Bill.

The two leaders had planned Hasanabdal as their meeting point as Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani was scheduled to visit Peshawar by road while Asghar Khan was on his way to Pindi Gheb on a tour. Both leaders were to pass through Hasanabdal.

Later talking to newsmen, the JUP Chief said: "We have discussed a formula for the restoration of 1973 Constitution which was also one of the four points of the MRD".

The Maulana ruled out expansion of the MRD and said this idea was projected by the defunct Jamaat-i-Islami which he said had all along strengthened the hands of Martial Law. "We are not going to absolve Jamaat from the blame of association with Martial Law.

Asghar Khan told newsmen that his meeting with the JUP leader was in line with the close associations of his party. "We have discussed the possibilities of strengthening this collaboration".

He also ruled out the expansion of MRD for the time being.

The meeting was held at a restaurant because Hasanabdal Deputy Commissioner did not allow the two leaders to hold their talks at the district Council's Rest House.

Asghar Khan was accompanied by the party Secretary General, Asif Fasihuddin Wardag, and Malik Usman Haider, a leader from Punjab while Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani was assisted by Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi, Secretary General JUP, Maulana Syed Barakat Ahmad, Senior Vice President, JUP and Malik Akbar Saqi, a JUP leader.

PAKISTAN

POLICE FOILS PPP MEETING PLANS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 Oct 85 p 8

[Text] The administration, once again using strict measures, foiled the meeting of the defunct Pakistan People's Party which was scheduled to be held to protest against the arrest of Miss Benazir Bhutto. Police contingents were posted at the residence of eight leaders. About 20 workers and leaders were arrested from the vicinity of the meeting place, and light clashes between the workers and police also took place. A government van was damaged in the stoning and tension prevailed in the area for more than eight hours.

In order to prevent the leaders of the party from attending the meeting, their residences were cordoned off by the police, before noon, and they were told that they could not leave their houses. A police contingent which cordoned off the house of Rao Abdul Rashid insisted on taking him away, but he refused to budge without being first shown the warrants of his arrest. None could be produced and he was eventually not taken away. Others who were put under house arrest were Malik Mehraj Khalid, Shah Mohammad Mohsin Mansoor Malik, Iqbal Cheema, Nazim Hussain Shah, Waliur Rehman and Salman Taseer.

Police was also posted at the house of Syed Afzal Haider member Pakistan Bar Council. However, he managed to reach the meeting place. Heavy police contingents which were posted at every corner soon detected him and two police officials took him into their custody and sent him in a police jeep to some unknown place.

Police did not allow any vehicle to enter the main bazar of Qilla Gujjar Singh. Even pedestrians and people living in the area were checked. As the police stopped people coming to the meeting place, a small group led by Mrs. Shahida Jabeen, Dr. Israr Shah and Saith Bashir came out raising slogans, but were soon overpowered,. Dr. Israr Shah said that they were courting arrest for the release of Miss. Benazir Bhutto, revival of the democratic system and to protest against the 8th Constitution amendment.

As the police stopped the workers they scattered in the lanes and started brick-battling the cops. They also tried to set on fire some empty wooden boxes on McLeod Road.

Malik Mahraj Khalid, member of the Central Committee of the PPP while commenting on the incident said it indicated that the 8th Constitutional Amendment had come into force, prior to its passage in the Assembly. He said the sole purpose of this Amendment was to deny the people of Pakistan their basic rights.

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CSO: 4600/61

PAKISTAN

IMPLICATIONS OF ALLEGED U.S. TILT TOWARD INDIA DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Oct 85 pp 4, 7

[Article by Nafees Siddiqi]

[Text] Quite a few high ranking American visitors flew to Islamabad during the last few weeks, they must be having different assignments to carry out as there is not such thing as just a routine visit to see how Shakarparyan hills look like at this time of the year. As is fairly evident from at least one visitor's Islamabad hop no other explanation was possible about the intention. The visit was to take a close look at Pakistan's nuclear programme. The other visitors must have thought it expedient to take up this very issue a bit less pointedly.

What appeared a bit odd was the synchronisation of U.S.-Indian media, orchestration of identical refrain. Jack Anderson, for example thought it proper at this very juncture to opine that Pakistan was in a position to test her Bomb. On the other hand Nixon deemed it proper to take a sympathetic view of Pakistan's difficulties & pleaded for the supply of sophisticated U.S. Military hardware to Pakistan. What could be termed as the nutshell of this advocacy was the hint that Pakistan should 'open the door for inspection of Pakistan's nuclear installations.' The whole orchestra has been set to the tune of "U.S. Tilt towards India," according to Jack Anderson.

The categorical formulations of some U.S. columnists are not mere professional scoops. Some of these stories carry the 'message' of the U.S. Government and the independent stature of these columnists is used as a cover to make U.S. Government's positions known to the concerned parties indirectly. Numerous American books could be cited to illustrate the point. The purpose behind these 'hints' is to communicate the policy change to those Governments who are likely to be affected thereby. For example the same Mr. Anderson was also responsible for that scoop which sought to impress upon the the Nixon administration-tilt toward Pakistan in 1971. The object of the whole method is now well known. It was desired that the Indians should come to know through the U.S. media all that they might be knowing through their own sources. However, the intentions were that the onus of the revelation should fall on the media itself. This is the role which the media has to discharge quite often: to serve the government more effectively in the guise of the independent media. The Indian Government couldn't always be told that the

'tilt' story was the brainchild of Mr Anderson & the U.S. Government couldn't interfere in the working of the media. As is usual some arrangements are agreed upon between the two governments without being explicit and whenever the word goes around that some thing is up through leakage the government whose position is comparatively weaker resiles from the arrangement or demands the stronger party to make up for the 'leak' by demanding strong overt measures to strengthen its hands.

#### 1971 Episode

Let us recall the 1971 episode. Had the Nixon government's tilt been made known in the form of a regular official announcement Mrs Gandhi could adopt a sterner attitude & defy the U.S. Government. Hence the affair was kept as discreet as possible. The situation on obtaining in 1985 is entirely different. Anderson reports 'tilt' in the U.S. administration with a view to saving Pakistan from the eventual embarrassment. It is like telling India what has already transpired and, at the same time, preparing the public opinion in Pakistan to face the facts.

The fact of the matter is that U.S. - India understanding was a foregone conclusion much earlier. To be precise, it had a acquired substance in 1980 when Mrs Gandhi, after re-entering the corridors of power, accentuated her efforts to enter into agreements for procurement and weapons from France & Britain. The increasing tempo of growing U.S. Chinese friendship was sought to be offset by India and Russia in a subtle manner, India thought it proper to reexamine the whole gamut of U.S. interests in the region and thus have way of the new avenues of the mutual collaboration.

Russis stands to gain everything from increasing U.S.-India relations because it is only in that eventuality that the 'love-affair' between USA & China could be distracted. This is quite a far reaching move. Any weakening of Moscow-New Delhi ties could work as a compensation for lessening of the U.S.-Chinese rapprochement. India wanted to impress upon the Americans that instead of China as her ally, it was far better to have India as a possible 'alternative'. This could relieve a lot of pressure from India & Russia in one stroke & hence the Russian 'go ahead' signal to New Delhi for a speedy amelioration between Washington & New Delhi. These moves could be seen in the light of renewed moves towards explanatory steps for improving relations between Moscow & Beijing.

The stage is thus set for all those four powers--who have to play an important role in the reconstruction of the new world. The moment the 'lines' between the U.S.-India & Russia-China are cleared the next item on the agenda would automatically involve clearing the New-Delhi-Peking lines. This is perhaps one of the underlying reasons of Mrs Gandhi's idea of holding the India Festival in the length & breadth of the U.S.

It is in the middle of 1985 that the message has been splashed that the imaginary tilt was more than a reality. It has grown its wings in the process. What we have done so far to counter the mesmerising effect of India Festival - a gigantic programme of mind boggling ramifications--is perhaps,



the decision to offload towering human spectacle--Alam Channa of Sehwan Sharif on the U.S. soil. It is the limit of over simplistic way of dealing with the challenge. It is both amusing and utterly naive.

#### US Technology

What is more evident than before is that it is no more the surprise of 'tilt' we have to grapple with but the spectacle of the sophisticated American technology being made available to India. Agreements about the supply of engines of F-18 & high technology of computers are being signed. The Indian nuclear programme has been ignored. And on the other hand Pakistan is being pressurised into falling in line with the U.S. tilt. It is being made difficult for Pakistan to acquire technology from the West. Recently India's defence purchases delegation to United States was warmed up by the news that Pakistan doesn't want to buy E 2C Hawk Eye reconnaissance planes. Not before long one Hawk Eye reconnaissance plane was sent on a demonstration flight to Pakistan and we found ourselves perked up in a spirit of euphoria.

The United States betrayed it's commitment to sell these planes to Pakistan under the pretext of Pakistan's "No" to buy these planes. In August the sale of a high technology camera was with-held under the pretext that it could be used for nuclear purposes.

It is but natural that Pakistan which has for long staked the interests & security of Pakistan for placating the United States of American should find itself terribly disturbed over the new developments. In my opinion Mr Nixon's visit was sought to act as a assuaging factor. Mr Nixon might be a spent force or rejected politician but he is held in high esteem by Pakistan's bureaucracy and his 'tilt' in favour of Pakistan in 1971 is still an encashable memory. The purpose of the whole exercise was simple we shouldn't be wary of growing Washington - New Delhi ties. What is expected of us is that we should persevere in our role in Afghanistan & pave the way for the delivery of sophisticated weapons in Afghanistan before the Geneva Summit. Mr Nixon has reportedly advised Pakistan to give up its atomic programme. All that is being asked of Pakistan is of much significance and an independent and sovereign state.

What is the 'bait' for Pakistan. Nothing, but obstacles in the procurement of modern weaponry; forsaking the nuclear programme when we are in the midst of an energy crisis, disregard of our security apprehensions. The U.S. is silent over India's occupation of Siachin Glacier in Northern Kashmie. It is a dismal picture. It fits the line of a well known couplet. Why should the sky (providence) be enemy of any one when you are the friend.

The irony of the situation is that we are still pinning our hopes on the U.S. inspite of the setbacks we have suffered in our calculations based on Pak-US friendship.

General Zia is proceeding to the U.S. & other friendly Western states shortly and it is being expected that there are prospects of a change of policy around the courner. Pakistan's record as a steadfast - and the way it had danced to

the tune of these policies, is no more of any consequence. If these manifestations of betrayal on the part of a super power couldn't keep Pakistan to improve its relations with India then nothing could be done.

Hasn't that moment arrived? The U.S. has already accepted India as predominant power in the south west Asia and the stage is now fully set when America should be entrusting India to safeguard what it has been trying to secure. Pakistan is going to be told at the end of the way "go and settle your matters with the predominant power of the region.

Why can't we move ahead on our own and mend our fences with India and Russia since these two powers are in -contestable realities of our region and no good could accrue from ignoring this basic fact. After all we can't change our geographical situation to wriggle ourselves out of the geo-political compulsions.

Is it necessary that we should wait for the final U.S. 'kick' to realise the importance of normalisation of our relations with India and Russia?

/13104

CSO: 4600/61

PAKISTAN

CONFEDERATION IDEA DENOUNCED

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 13 Sep 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Confederation--Is it Their Internal Affair?"]

[Text] The Sindh-Baluch-Pakhtoon front established in London by PPP [Pakistan Peoples Party] leaders Mumtaz Bhutto and Abdul Jafiz Pirzada was denounced by patriotic Pakistanis. They felt it was detrimental to Pakistan's unity and oneness. The PPP has been an important political party and also ruled Pakistan for a period. We cannot ignore its importance in Pakistan's politics. We expected the leadership of the PPP to take action against these leaders proposing a confederation by ejecting them from the party or indicating their preference for a united Pakistan and showing their displeasure at such irresponsible announcements made by Mumtaz Bhutto and Pirzada. However, the PPP leadership kept quiet.

When members of the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy], the political coalition of which the PPP is a member, demanded the PPP's stand on this issue, the PPP's leader, Yahaya Bakhtiar, announced that they had demanded an explanation from Mumtaz Bhutto and Hafiz Pirzada. In the Quetta convention of the MRD Central Committee, the PPP leaders had assured other parties of strict action against Mumtaz Bhutto and Pirzada in their August meeting. Benazir Bhutto, the present leader of the party, on return from London made a statement denying the PPP's relationship with the Sindh-Baluch-Pakhtoon front. It was concluded that since the PPP has no relationship with persons raising the slogan of a front, these people did not belong to the PPP. Now, however, the executive committee of the defunct PPP has announced that the question of a Sindh-Baluch-Pakhtoon front is an internal matter for the PPP.

In these very columns, we had demanded an explanation from Mumtaz Bhutto and Hafiz Pirzada on the PPP stand when they had first raised the slogan of a confederation. We believe that specific announcements made by an important party member with policy-making power are part of a party's policies unless that party denies any connections with those members. Hafiz Pirzada and Mumtaz Bhutto's actions cannot be considered internal matters of the party. If the defunct PPP still considers these two people its members, then it must admit its agreement with such unpatriotic slogans as the Sindh-Baluch-Pakhtoon front and confederation. This does not seem impossible in the light of what happened

after the death of Benazir's brother, Shahnawaz Bhutto. Martza and Shahnawaz Bhutto, sons of the former primer minister of Pakistan, established an organization for subversive activities. Shahnawaz had admitted proudly being involved in such hideous activities as hijacking an airplane, murders of political leaders, terrorism and other atrocities. The PPP's denial of his association with the party at that time was a white lie and an act of political hypocrisy. Even after the death of Shahnawaz Bhutto the party leaders publicly denounced him, but in practice they continued to support his acts. They even raised the "Alzooalafqar" flag at Shahnawaz Bhutto's grave. Then Mumtaz Bhutto, the PPP leader, returned to Pakistan to pay her tribute to those terrorists sentenced to death for their activities. We can conclude that the terrorist group Alzooalafqar and the PPP are one and the same group. In the light of all this it was necessary for the PPP to disassociate itself from Mumtaz Bhutto and other enemies of our country's unity and publicly denounce their actions. For some undisclosed reasons no such action was taken. It is necessary now that the leadership of the movement to establish democracy, if it is not related to the PPP, declare its stand on this issue. Otherwise, Mumtaz Bhutto and Hafiz Pirzada's stand will be interpreted as the stand of the PPP itself, and, by extension, of the MRD.

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PAKISTAN

JATOI EXPRESSES VIEWS ON POLITICS OF AGITATION

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 11 Sept 85 p 3

[Article by Abdul Karim Abid: "Why Does Mr Jatoi Not Like Politics of Agitation?"]

[Text] Among the leaders of the defunct PPP [Pakistan Peoples Party], Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi is held in high regard in Punjab. One reason for this is the expectation that Mr Jatoi's political star will rise again because of his moderate politics. Mr Jatoi does not like confrontation. He neither supports the fight between Sindh and Punjab nor wants to fight the government. While he is fully associated with the PPP, he keeps his doors open for other parties. This middle-of-the-road politics is appreciated in Punjab. Punjabis have demonstrated their dislike for politics of confrontation by staying away from it for the last 8 years. There is no indication of such involvement in the future either.

However, there exists a small political group that often talks about political agitation and blames the PPP leadership, that prefers to carry out political activity from their living rooms for running away to London to escape confrontation. During Mr Jatoi's recent visit to Lahore, he was surrounded by these politicians. They demanded vehemently to know why Mr Jatoi and Mumtaz Bhutto have agreed with Prime Minister Junejo to wait for the end of martial law until January 1986. This objection was again aired by some "revolutionary journalists" at the Press Club where Mr Jatoi was a guest of honor. He got irritated and told those journalists to go ahead and demonstrate in the streets with his blessing. He asked them what was wrong if they waited 3 or 4 more months after having already waited for 8 years? Mr Jatoi added that his party has not decided to demonstrate, but neither have the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] and other political parties. He further asked them why he was being criticized for agreeing with Mr Junejo while none of the other parties had shown any signs of discontent.

Mr Jatoi has told us that he is 80 to 90 percent sure that martial law will not be lifted. He, however, does not want to start an agitation. He believes that this will give the government an excuse for not lifting martial law. He added that there were some new developments hinting at some positive changes. The majority of the armed forces is very patriotic and supportive of lifting

martial law. The Junejo government is unconstitutional, but it is a new government and we should give it time to fulfill its promise.

The demand of agitation and confrontation is but little in Punjab and almost nonexistent in Sindh. People have become wary of all those unfulfilled promises. The MRD has been telling them to wait for a few days for the last 8 years. Ziaul Haq came and went. Leaders have been making promises and people have been believing them. Their faith has been betrayed again and again. Their political mind has lost its equilibrium and is ready to explode out of desperation. Then there are government agents who have infiltrated the fringes of the MRD and PPP. On instruction from their bosses, they want to involve the two political groups in violent politics. The PPP is viewed with more respect because of its peaceful politics since the return of Mumtaz Bhutto. Mr Jatoi openly declared at the Press Club that peaceful politics is a difficult act. He gave the examples of Shahnawaz' funeral procession and the huge meeting held at the Mochi Darwaza. He added that his party has proved by having these peaceful rallies that the accusations of its tendencies for violence and agitation are baseless. Actually, he went on, the government feels challenged by the peaceful and nonviolent practices of the PPP.

There are some elements that want agitation. The present atmosphere is not conducive to violent confrontation. Will any agitation be successful now? Sindh was involved in a powerful movement under the banner of the MRD. At that time, Punjab had kept quiet. Sindhi agitators were badly defeated and none of their demands was fulfilled. This experience has made Sindhi leaders adopt a "wait and see" attitude. They have learned the bitter truth that this is not the time for change. The seed, however, has been sown. They are watering it and waiting for the spring. Sindh experimented with the politics of agitation and lost. Processions marched with hundreds of thousands of men. This was unique in the history of Sindh. All of this, however, was wasted because Punjab did not join the movement. The time was not ripe for a political confrontation in Punjab. It still is not. Punjabis do want to get rid of the military government, but they also know that there are unsavory elements that want to divide this country. There are Soviet and Indian agents who would take advantage of such a situation. The Punjabis have become very careful because of the dangers lurking on our borders. They do not want to act on impulse. They also know that violent political confrontation can bring in a new martial law to replace the old martial law that might be even worse than this one and last for a long time. Thus, they are waiting for this martial law on its death bed to die a natural death. That wait leaves no room for any kind of political agitation in Punjab. Sindh, after experimenting with violent politics, is wary of such risky undertakings. They are afraid that leadership of agitation can get into the wrong hands and result in a new martial law regime. Baluchistan and North West Frontier Province (NWFP) were never in a mood for any kind of political agitation. At the time of the MRD's Sindh agitation, Mr Billaour of the NDP refused to join it. He said that their leader Ghaffar Khan had prohibited them from joining in any political agitation. Mr Bizanjo, the Baluch leader, openly declared that the preferred Ziaul Haq as the dictator if this country was doomed to have autocratic rule. Mr Bagti has said that the idea of a confederation is unacceptable. Perhaps he wants to disappoint the political

agitators since his son, Talal Bafti, has been released from jail. Khair Bax Murry is missing. Nevertheless, be it Murry or Maingal, they are all opposed to internal political agitation. They want to use foreign powers and return home on foreign shoulders. They just do not believe in any kind of political action. Against this background Mr Jatoi's or Miss Benazir Bhutto's decision to wait until January appears to be just right.

At the Lahore Press Club, one ultra-left journalist asked Mr Jatoi why he did not support the idea of a confederation of provinces since Punjab appeared to be receptive of it. Mr Jatoi's reply to this question is like a slap in the face of Punjabi intellectuals. He said that while he wants his rights, he does not believe in suppressing other people's rights. He further explained that 56 percent of the country's population lives in Punjab and it deserves a lion's share in the country's politics as well as other spheres. He does not think that Pakistan can live without Punjab. The idea of confederation is to deprive Punjab of its rightful status. This idea is just not going to work. This effort will not solve any problems only aggravate them. He added that the PPP will have no political future in Sindh if the confederation is established.

7997/12951  
CSO: 4656/01

PAKISTAN

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMNS POLICE TORTURE

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Oct 85 p 6

[Text] All those workers who were arrested yesterday in connection with attempting to hold a meeting for the release of Miss Benazir Bhutto, held a press conference, under the auspices of the Political Prisoners Release and Relief Committee (PPRRC) and alleged, police torture, manhandling, illegal detention, and misuse of power.

Prominent at the press conference were Syed Afzal Haider, member Pakistan Bar Association, Liaqat Hussain Warriach, General Secretary of the PPRRC and Iqbal Cheema advocate who strongly condemned the misuse of power by police and described it as violation of human rights.

Syed Afzal Haider said the local police under a conspiracy prevented the meeting from being held in connection with the detention of Miss Benazir Bhutto. He said workers were tortured, and this indicated the anti-people policies and attitudes of the regime. He said what had happened yesterday, was a thought provoking incident for all the political workers, who must now be convinced that until they made themselves the decisive force in the country, their economic, political and democratic rights would not be restored, and social contradictions would remain unresolved. He said the police had identified itself with the regime, and was carrying out illegal orders to the extent of torturing people.

A lady worker of the PPP, Mrs. Shahida Jabeen, said when she came to the meeting place, she was surrounded by nearly 40 policemen with guns. A magistrate and a police inspector who were heading the policeman abused and insulted her. She asked whether this all was in conformity with the tall claims of protection to Chadar and Char Deewari."

The rest of the workers told the newsmen that after being arrested, they were thrown into police vehicles by police commandos and were manhandled. Their first stop was Qilah Gujar Singh police station. At 8.30 p.m., they were loaded in a police truck and drove towards the deserted road leading to the Indian border, about 18 miles from the city. Police started releasing them in batches of two, after every two or three miles, before they could get any



conveyance. Some of them managed to reach their houses at mid-night, while others reached in the morning. They said the area was entirely deserted, and they could easily have come to harm there.

A number of workers showed the injuries they received as a result of police mishandling. They said police snatched away their money and wrist-watches.

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CSO: 4600/62

PAKISTAN

AIRPORT SECURITY FORCE TO BE EQUIPPED WITH MODERN WEAPONS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Oct 85 p 6

[Text] The Airport Security Force is in the process of being re-equipped with modern weapons and other specialised equipment, ASF Commander Brig. Tariq Rafi said here today.

In an interview he said the entire ASF force posted at the 29 international and domestic airports throughout the country had already been supplied with newly-purchased 7.62mm rifles manufactured in the Peoples Republic of China.

He said shipments of ultra-modern West German sub-machine-guns and Italian nine mm Beretta semi-automatic pistols were en-route to Pakistan and would arrive here in about 10 days time.

Ammunition for these calibre weapons is manufactured locally so that will not involve any future outlays of foreign exchange.

Brig. Rafi said the new sub-machine guns purchased from West Germany were manufactured by Messrs Heckler and Koch and held two magazines of 20 and 30 bullets capacity.

As soon as one magazine is exhausted switching on the other one is done by just pressing a button and so no time is lost.

The semi-automatic Beretta pistols have a 16 round-magazine, and are exactly the same as that chosen by the U.S. army as a replacement for the colt .45 inch calibre revolvers (which have been phased but recently).

These weapons cost the equivalent of about Rs. 16 million in foreign exchange.

The ASF commander said the above three types of small-arms (i.e. rifles, sub-machine guns and pistols) were chosen after issuing international tenders and exhaustive field tests of a variety of choices in all three calibres.

The field tests were currently being carried out here on some other types of automatic weapons needed for special anti-hijacking and terrorists operations, should such a contingency arise in the future.

He also said some more metal detector hand-scanners, walkie-talkie sets and baggage x-ray machines have been purchased at a cost of Rs. four million and will arrive here in about four weeks time.

The ASF guards posted at the 29 small and large airports all over the country are being equipped with these newly-purchased weapons and specialised equipment (hand scanners, walkie-talkie sets and baggage x-ray machines).

Turning to other matters, the ASF chief stated that work on installing and wiring in a closed-circuit TV security system in the newly-constructed third terminal building at Karachi airport will be completed in one month's time.

A section of the first terminal at Karachi airport, which was damaged in a fire last year had has since been re-built, will also be linked into the closed-circuit TV system early next month.

Brig. Rafi said as the number of airports in Pakistan expanded, the ASF had to increase its manpower strength to meet its responsibility of guarding them against any threat.

He noted that due to vigilance of th ASF security guards, an average of 12 weapons of different types were seized each day from intending passengers and visitors at the 29 airports in Pakistan.

He estimated that about 98 per cent of the people detained for bringing firearms into domestic and international airports did so out of sheer carelessness and ignorance of laws which prohibit them from doing so.

All the offenders were handed over to local police for futher questioning and subsequent action where required.

For its part the ASF had to remain constantly alert to any attempt by terrorists to smuggle weapons on board Pakistani or foreign aircraft and the ASF guards on security duty were motivated to discharge their responsibilities diligently, he added.

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CSO: 4600/62

PAKISTAN

ECONOMIC COUNCIL APPROVES 17 MAJOR PROJECTS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Oct 85 pp 1, 3

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Oct 14: A total number of 17 important development projects worth Rs.17.5 billion were approved here today at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Economic Council and the progress of work on 15 ongoing schemes were also reviewed intensively.

Presided over by the Federal Minister for Finance and Planning, Dr. Mahbubul Haq, the meeting was attended by the Federal Ministers for Food and Agriculture, Housing and Works, Communications, Water and Power, Production, Minister of State for Petroleum and Natural Resources, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, Provincial Ministers for Finance and Planning, Government of Baluchistan, Finance Ministers of Punjab and NWFP, Provincial Chief Secretaries, Additional Chief Secretary, Planning and Development, Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Federal Secretaries of Economic Ministries.

Of the 17 projects approved today, five relate to the energy sector, six to the transport and communication sector, two to the water sector, three to the health sector and one to the industrial sector.

In the energy sector, the meeting approved the first phase of the Tando Alam Development Project at an estimated cost of Rs.276.909 million.

In the same sector, a project entitled as PARCO Pipeline Extension Project at an estimated cost of Rs.1746.22 million with a foreign exchange component of Rs.230.86 million was also approved.

The objective of the project is to provide safe and rapid means of transporting petroleum products from Multan to Faisalabad and Lahore, release congestion in the Railway system and save imported HSD presently consumed by the Railway and road transport in carrying

petroleum products. It envisages extension of existing PARCO pipeline from Gujrat (Multan) to Lahore via Faisalabad.

A revised project on rural energy was also okayed. The objective of the project is to demonstrate practicability and economy of biogas, solar and wind energy as alternate sources of power particularly in rural and far-flung areas. The revised project is estimated to cost Rs.43.132 million with a foreign exchange component of Rs.16.800 million.

In the energy sector, yet another project approved today relates to the first phase of Pirkoh Development Project (expanded scope). It is a revised project in which original scope has been expanded is estimated to cost Rs.1336.504 million including a foreign exchange component of Rs. 764.029 million.

In the same sector, the meeting okayed a project regarding the second 500 KV Jamshoro-Guddu-Multan-Lahore transmission line.

The proposed transmission line and grid stations will enable exchange of bulk power between northern and southern parts of the country in various seasons, besides providing greater reliability and stability to the entire power system.

The project is estimated to cost Rs.4823.46 million including a foreign exchange component of Rs.1992.04 million.

In the power-sector, the ECNEC also gave approval to the setting up of a separate organisation under the NWFP for installation of small hydel stations in various parts of the province. Since large parts of the districts of Chitral, Dir, Kohistan, Swat and Hazara Kohistan in NWFP, Gilgit Agency and Azad Kashmir are inaccessible to the National Grid.

The annual recurring cost of this organisation is estimated at Rs. 5,311,000 while the non-recurring cost will be Rs.3,206,000.

In the transport and communi-

cation sector, the ECNEC gave approval to the project regarding expansion of Telex Services by 9,800 lines during the Sixth Five-Year Plan period.

The project is estimated to cost Rs.338.0 million with a foreign exchange component of Rs.164.46 million.

The meeting also gave approval to a project regarding expansion of local telephone system by 5,20,000 lines in the country during the Sixth-Five-Year Plan.

The total cost of the scheme is Rs.6611.0 million with a foreign exchange component of Rs.3170.0 million.

In the same sector, a scheme for the construction of Machinery Training Centre at Sector I/12 Islamabad was also approved. It is estimated to cost Rs.202.75 million including a foreign exchange component of Rs.179.471 million. Its initial capacity will be 300 operators per annum.

The meeting also approved a scheme for construction of Haj Complex in Sector I-14, Islamabad. The cost of the project is estimated at Rs.111.195 million.

A project for construction of terminal III at the Karachi Airport International Departure Lounge was also okayed ex-post facto at a cost of Rs.64.581 million with no foreign exchange component.

Ex-post facto approval was also given to a scheme for the purchase of one-used Boeing-747 Combi Aircraft by the Pakistan International Airlines Corporation at a cost of Rs.671.055 million including a foreign exchange component of Rs.639.1 million (US \$ 41.5 million).

In the water sector, a project initiated by the Government of Baluchistan for the Pat Feeder Canal (Pilot Project) costing Rs.103.706 million was also okayed. A major portion of the cost will be financed from the Japanese grant.

The project involves creation of an agricultural farm, with modern facilities for research on crop priorities and crop rotations most suited to the soil and climate of the area. It will experiment with and demonstrate use of modern agri-

culture machinery in local conditions, to determine how best mechanisation can contribute to increasing yields per acre.

In the same sector, a drainage and reclamation scheme related to Chashma Command Area Development Project costing Rs.643.10 million with a foreign exchange component of Rs.309.73 million was also okayed. It is being substantially (85 per cent) financed by the Asian Development Bank.

In the health sector, the meeting approved a scheme relating to the first phase of the College of Nursing and Para-medical Institute in Islamabad at a cost of Rs.94.324 million.

The scheme provides for training of specialised nurse/nurse-teachers and paramedicals.

A revised scheme for the construction of a building for Human Diploid cell at the National Institute of Health, Islamabad was also okayed at a cost of Rs.85.892 million.

The project has three basic objectives:-

i. To build sufficient production capacity to ensure availability of Human Diploid cell Rabies Vaccine for all cases requiring immunisation or post-exposure treatment in Pakistan.

ii. To develop the capability of the National Institute of Health to produce, test, pack and deliver the required quantities of vaccine.

iii. To strengthen the capability of the preventive health delivery system in Pakistan.

In the industrial sector, meeting gave ex-post facto sanction to a revised project for expansion of White Cement Plant at Daudkhel at a cost of Rs.91.155 million as against the original approved cost of Rs.52.169 million. At present, the project is complete and in operation.

The factory for production of white cement was established at Daudkhel in 1966-67 with a capacity of 15,000 tons per annum. Under the present project, the capacity of the plant has been doubled to 30,000 tons per annum.

The meeting also took note of a number of review reports on various on-going projects. These related to Agriculture University,

Faisalabad, Bahauddin Zakaria University, Multan, first phase of Islamia University, Project, Bahawalpur and progress of public sector development programmes for the disabled in the country.

A similar report on National Refinery Lube Complex Expansion Project, Korangi, Karachi was also placed before the meeting.

About the Quetta, Natural Gas Distribution Project the meeting was informed that the project was approved in 1983 at an estimated cost of Rs.259.230 million including a foreign exchange component of Rs.39.771 million. The project envisaged supply and distribution of Natural Gas to the eight towns in Baluchistan (Quetta, Sibi, Dera, Murad Jamali, Jhatpat, Belpat, Dhadar, Kolpur and Mach) and one town (Jacobabad) in Sind. The work on the project commenced in 1982-83. Its operational activity would, however, continue upto June 1988.

As regards the second 500 KV (Tarbela-Faisalabad Transmission Line Project, the meeting was informed that the project initiated in 1982 at a cost of Rs. 1356.41 million is expected to be completed at a cost of Rs.1044.49 million with a saving of Rs.311.92 million.

The special review report on roads programme in Baluchistan was also presented.

On another review report about Korangi Fisheries Harbour Project, the ECNEC called for its early implementation, as it already stands approved since last year.

The meeting was also briefed about the progress of work on modernisation and expansion of Urea Plant at Pak-Arab Fertilizer Limited, Multan.

The progress of work on the first phase of Karachi Export Processing Zone was also reviewed.

The meeting was briefed about the implementation of scheme regarding first phase of National Institute of Speech and Hearing Disorders.

The quarterly report on the position of schemes dealt with by the Provincial Development Working Parties during the period from April to June 1985, was also placed before the meeting.—PR

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CSO: 4600/64

PAKISTAN

# KALABAGH TERMED 'AN ILL-CONCEIVED PROJECT'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Oct 85 p 6

[Text] Engineer Fatehullal Khah, an eminent expert on water and power, has said that the construction of the Kalabagh Dam on the proposed site would be most damaging to the country as a whole.

He claimed that the WAPDA had ruined the country's land, power, water, irrigation, drainage and their development potentials and as such the Kalabagh project was not the only ill-conceived project. He said it was unfortunate on the part of WAPDA to make a categorical statement on technical matters and announce publicly that the feasibility reports prepared during the last 30 years showed that there was "no alternative to Kalabagh Dam Project".

This had been said in face of the numerous alternative multi-purpose dam sites with spectacular features available on the main Indus upstream of Tarbela. Many sites, he said, were specifically pointed out in a book published by him in 1962. All those sites had no adverse effects at all. The book in the shape of a Master Plan, was sent to all the concerned Ministries. Unfortunately, our planners committed blunders at pre-feasibility stage and at policy planning level and then concocted stories in order to defend their mistakes. That was why the nation plunged into grave crises in water, power and drainage sectors.

The alternative project of its kind, he said, was the hydro-power alternative of equal capacity was a Basha on the Indus, which costs much less than Kalabagh. The other alternatives of about half a dozen multipurpose dams were on other rivers. So, there was not one but many alternatives, which were not accounted for.

It was surprising as to why these dams were ignored since 1962 even for the comparable pre-feasibility studies to find and fix alternative priority on the basis of technical merits. Kalabagh dam, he said, came with the lowest priority and that too with restricted height so that the reservoir level did not exceed beyond the old road-cumrail bridge at Attock.

Over and above, WAPDA showed its gross ignorance when it said something totally contrary to the functioning of the special design features of Kalabagh Dam, claiming that "Kalabagh Dam is essentially a power generating project".

Kalabagh Dam with its increased height in its present revised form and design, said Fateh, would submerge the most valuable agricultural land, cities and villages, property, factories and communication system besides obstructing surface and sub-surface drainage of the basin.

WAPDA, he said, blundered by ignoring the mathematical fact, that a multipurpose dam if constructed at Skardu (with three time bigger reservoir than Tarbela) or at Basha, shall prolong life of the dying reservoir at Tarbela for an indefinite period.

Tarbela, he added, needs one or two dams on the upstream to work as a water-shed management and to prolong its life. This single factor alone would accrue a benefit worth much more than Rs.100,000 crore from Tarbela by way of prolonging its life-span.

Kalabagh Dam with the present design features, he said, will create power and water crises during 3 to 4 months monsoon period. Besides raising the water table, it would also not help prolong Tarbela's life-span as it has no water shed management characteristics of giving benefits to prolong the fast depleting life-span of Tarbela, which would hardly retain 5 MAF of water including the 2.2 MAF of the dead storage and a live storage of 2.8 MAF by the year 2000, when Kalabagh Dam shall start teething. This situation shall be very grave and would generate multi-dimensional crisis.

All projects handled by WAPDA (except replacement works) for power, water, drainage and irrigation must be checked up against flaws, drawbacks and wrong projects planning concepts, WAPDA, he said, has miserably failed to solve the problems of water-logging and salinity; the proclamation of land, the generation of power, the distribution and maintenance of power, the availability of water for the old irrigation systems and for the new areas.

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CSO: 4600/63

PAKISTAN

SBPF LEADER EXPRESSES STRONG VIEWS AGAINST KALABAGH DAM

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by Abdul Haveez Pirzada, Secretary SBPF, London]

[Text] Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has recently launched a campaign against the construction of Kalabagh Dam. In this connection, it is reported that, while addressing a gathering of Pushtoons near Peshawar, he denounced the project as a conspiracy aimed at ruining the Pushtoons. The Sindhi-Baluch-Pushtoon Front fully agrees with the apprehensions expressed by the leader of the Pushtoon people, and lends its full support to the campaign launched by him. It hereby demands and calls upon the military regime to stop all further investigations and planning of the project.

The Kalabagh Dam is being planned with total disregard of the rights and interests of the Sindhi Baluch and Pushtoon peoples. The paramount object is to bring enormous economic benefit to Punjab by further unlawful appropriation and diversion of the waters of the river Indus and its tributaries, and by exclusive utilisation of the hydroelectric power produced. In this process, if economies and ecologies of the lands of the smaller nationalities are ruined, that appears to be of no concern to the oppressor and usuper of their rights.

At the moment there is a serious dispute raised by the smaller provinces on apportionment of the waters of the river Indus and its tributaries. During the pendency of this dispute, Punjab has already made diversions of sizeable flow and stored waters unilaterally. The dispute was referred to a commission of the chief justices under the 1973 Constitution. The military regime has abrogated that constitution, and consequently the commission cannot give an award or its recommendations.

The investigations, planning and construction of the Kalabagh Dam has been undertaken in callous and cruel disregard of the glaring facts that:

1. Vast areas of arable and fertile lands and scores of villages in districts of Peshawar, Mardan and Kohat will be submerged and lost forever, with no benefit in the process accruing to them.



2. The huge pondage and storage in the very foot of the parting hills of Indus valley, with vast plains of Pushtoon lands surrounding it, will soon raise the subsoil water level to such uncontrollable extent that these areas will become permanently water-logged and big swamps.

3. Sind and Baluchistan will be forced towards complete ruination of their agricultural economy. More impounding and diversion of the Indus waters, will be tantamount to invitation to salinisty and onslaught of the sea water. Sind and eastern Baluchistan will become huge salt lakes. Over two million acres of Kaccha lands will be rendered barren. All forests in riverian bed will be destroyed. The salt content of the subsoil water will reach intolerable level, and most of the tube wells will be rendered useless.

4. That during the pendency of the dispute, no party can undertake implementation of a project which may unilaterally alter the position of any party to its detriment. Besides, no party should have an upper hand merely because of its size or the weight of its numbers.

The SBPF demands that all further steps in the implementation of the Kalabagh Dam project be suspended indefinitely.

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CSO: 4600/61

PAKISTAN

TURKEY EXPRESSES WILLINGNESS TO INVEST IN KALABAGH DAM

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Oct 85 p 8

[Text] Turkish Minister for Trade and Industry, Cahit Aral expressed his country's willingness to invest in the Kala Bagh Dam project.

Talking to APP at Islamabad airport here today, he said we are ready for investment in the Kala Bagh Dam project and our contractors can participate in the consortium collaboration with Pakistan and China'.

The Turkish Minister who visited the world's biggest earth filled Tarbela Dam yesterday said Turkey also had the expertise in this field and they can take part in the Kala Bagh Dam project.

Answering a question, Mr Aral said a number of areas have been identified for increasing cooperation between the two countries. Some of the fields in which cooperation is expected to expand are automobile components, compressors, steel, pharmaceuticals and electronics.

The minister said his visit will be followed by the exchange visits of the officials of the two countries to find out specific projects for increased cooperation.

The Turkish Trade Minister said there was wide scope for increasing cooperation in various fields. He hoped that the volume of trade between the two brotherly Muslim countries would also reach at a very reasonable level.

Syed Zafar Ali Shah, the Federal Minister for Industries, answering a question said "we can have exchange of experiences and go into joint ventures in the fields of agro-based industry, petro chemicals and pharmaceuticals.

Syed Zaraf Ali Shah said Turkey has achieved significant advancement in the field of technology and Pakistan can benefit from their experiences.

The Minister said the visit of Turkish Minister will help in further promoting the existing cordial relations between the two countries.

The Turkish Minister today left for Lahore. He was given warm send off by his Pakistani counterpart Syed Zafar Ali Shah, Secretary Ministry of Industries and local staff of the Turkish Embassy, Islamabad.

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CSO: 4600/62

PAKISTAN

ARMY APPOINTMENTS TO CIVIL SERVICE JOBS QUESTIONED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Oct 85 p 8

[Article by Saeed Qureshi]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Oct. 14, As on several other occasions in the National Assembly, the appointment of the personnel of Armed Forces today again came under fire, the lead being taken by the eloquent Syeda Abida Hussain who repeatedly asked the concerned Parliamentary Secretary the rationale behind absorbing a large number of army officers in the senior posts of the civil administration.

As usual the Parliamentary Secretary for Cabinet, Rana Naeem Mahmood, took refuge behind the oft-repeated argument that the officers were either deputed or permanently posted in the provincial administration at the request of the said provinces.

Syeda Abida wanted to verify whether it was true that out of the 12 districts of the Frontier Province, in six districts military officers inducted in the civil service were serving as Deputy Commissioners. She also asked whether it was true that in five administrative units of the same province, four military officers were serving as DIG police.

The debate which ensued was quite animated and exhibited members' strong sentiments over the induction of army officers in the civil service. Syeda Abida in a supplementary asserted that now it had been conceded that many army officers were working in the provinces on civil posts, and that their quota was up to 10 per cent of the available posts, should it be inferred that more physical strength was now needed for the civil jobs. In that case she

suggested the Civil Service Academy should be wound up.

The Parliamentary Secretary denied that 10 per cent of the posts were held by army officers and said that out of 170 DMG officers, 33 were drawn from the army. He added that those opposing the appointment of army officers to the civil service should not think that the army officers lacked brains. To this Syeda Abida fired another supplementary pointing out that she was sure that the Parliamentary Secretary believed firmly that but all she wanted to know was why a high percentage of army officers was posted to civil jobs.

Mr. Hamza took up Abida's question by asking if the Governors were appointed by the President, then were the army officers' appointments the result of Martial Law? There was no specific answer and then the question boiled down to provincial autonomy, again Syeda Abida asking "does the answer of the Parliamentary Secretary mean that there is enough provincial autonomy in the country", to which his prompt response was 'yes'.

Whenever the Railways come up in the National Assembly, members always aim at provoking the Railway Minister even to the extent of asking personal questions. It was perhaps in this spirit that one of the worthy members asked whether the losses suffered by the railways were due to considerable personal expenses of the Railway Minister, who the member added, was quite stocky. The member was keen to know what were the personal expenses. Mr. Hoti, exercising com-

The Railway Minister and his Parliamentary Secretary, sitting together most of the time would confer with each other before the

supplementaries and this was noticed by many members. However, it was the Railway Minister who took the floor on the question of huge losses of Pakistan Railways answering that the reported loss of Rs.4 billion was not correct.

He compared the Pakistan Railway losses with Japan and argued that in Pakistan they were only Rs.150 million a year while in Japan it was one billion dollars a year. There were many reasons for the losses in Pakistan's case, he said. The Ministry had to bear the brunt of each concession. He complained that for students, journalists and cultural troupes, it was his Ministry which had to bear the losses of concessions and not the relevant Ministries. Some sections of the Railways, he said, were purely non-commercial and were a permanent burden. He specifically mentioned the Peshawar-Landi Kotal section which has a liability totalling Rs.10 million but the income is only Rs.4000.

The House was informed that at present there was no proposal under consideration by the Government to extend the circular railway in Karachi. The project which was surveyed and studied in 1968 had to be abandoned because it was not commercially feasible.

Abdul Hamid Jatoi, the veteran member from Sind got angry over an explanation by the Railway Parliamentary Secretary and the reluctance by the Federal Educa-

tion Minister to answer his question directly. The question pertained to the reservation of seats at Sehwan, Dadu-Larkana railway stations for the Lahore, Rawalpindi-bound passengers. The second part of the question requested that a bogie be attached at Rohri for Kotri and Sehwan Sharif passengers.

Mr. Jatoi said that a letter written by the Prime Minister was already lying with the concerned Ministry awaiting action. The Parliamentary Secretary at first expressed his ignorance about such a letter but later some one pointed out that the letter was lying with the implementation committee. Mr. Jatoi was even prepared to move a motion if the Railway Ministry was not ready to accept the existence of such a letter.

The Parliamentary Secretary for Information and Broadcasting, Mrs. Rehana Aleem Mashhadi, told the House that 301 minutes were being devoted to religious programmes on the radio and television for the promotion of Islamic teachings during a week.

Replying to several supplementaries, she said that 423 minutes were being given to foreign films which included cartoon programmes, English films and science programmes for children, regional languages programmes totalled 200 minutes, anniversaries and festivals (national and religious) 80 minutes, educational programmes 125 minutes, sports 160 minutes and current affairs programmes 143 minutes.

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CSO: 4600/64

PAKISTAN

CONCERN EXPRESSED OVER INCREASING NUMBER OF REFUGEES

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 Oct 85 p 4

[Text]

The cold fears in respect of Pakistan's increasing Afghan refugee burden are coming to materialise sooner than expected. Mr Rustom Shah Mohammad, Afghan Refugee Commissioner in NWFP, has come up with some very disturbing facts. He says that while his province has two million registered and 150,000 non-registered refugees, and more are coming in, the international aid is dwindling and "donor fatigue" is becoming increasingly visible. He said while 20,000 more refugees arrived, during the last two months — five times the normal inflow—because of the Soviet military action in areas across Pakistan's borders, the international aid available is just enough for only 1.6 million refugees. So the available aid has to be spread among half a million more. As such aid is not enough to support the refugee families, they are tempted to take to work locally. In the process, they take away jobs which should normally be available to the local people, and that has aggravated the unemployment problem in the province.

He is equally disturbed by the fact that NWFP is now "saturated" with refugees, while more and more continue to arrive. Some areas in the Frontier, it appears, have now more Afghan refugees than Pakistanis. He mentioned Kurram Agency in particular which has 338,000 Afghan refugees compared to 300,000 Pakistanis, while some villages in the area have been vacated because of the spillover from Soviet aerial, armoured and land assaults against resistance basis and supply lines.

It is not enough if the Western states applaud Pakistan's role in this regard and record their moral support from time to time. The fact, as Mr Rustom Shah has pointed out, is that refugees often live better in their camps than Pakistanis in the surrounding villages and that causes considerable dismay in the

region. The Western and Arab states backing the Afghans should normally take a sizeable number of refugees, and if they cannot, they should at least make their financial and material assistance adequate for the rising number of refugees.

Among the reasons given by Mr Rustom Shah for the dwindling aid through the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and the World Food Programme are greater world interest in the African drought and its terrible consequences, the reduced focus on the Afghan issue, and the economic problems in the donor countries. He suggests that instead of negotiating aid on a multilateral basis, Pakistan should negotiate bilateral aid so that countries like the U.S. can come up with more. Countries which want to keep the Soviet Union militarily engaged in Afghanistan should come forward to assist the rising number of refugees adequately instead of making Pakistan groan under an excessive burden.

Clearly the political, economic and social consequences of the increasing number of Afghan refugees and diminishing international aid are very serious. Hence everything possible has to be done to bring about an early negotiated settlement. A policy of ridding Afghanistan of more and more Afghans may be helpful to the Soviet Union and may reduce the burdens of Babrak Karmal, but it is adding to the complex burdens of Pakistan, and in a manner which can have very adverse consequences.

/13104  
CSO: 4600/61

PAKISTAN

LACK OF COHERENT PRESS POLICY SEEN DAMAGING NATIONAL ACCORD

Karachi AMN in Urdu 19 Sep 85 p 2

[Article in the column "From Jumma Khan's Pen": "Not Even 2 Percent of the People in Pakistan Buy Newspapers and Magazines"]

[Excerpts] When Pakistan became independent, there were only a few newspapers and magazines published here. Today, however, almost 1,600 newspapers and magazines are published in Pakistan. But the number of newspapers and magazines that are well-known throughout the country is just 50, and the circulation of most of the newspapers and magazines is not even 1,000 or 2,000.

Karachi is the largest city of our country, and it also has the largest number of educated people. However, from most of the morning newspapers published in this city of 8 million inhabitants, not even 5,000 to 7,000 copies of newspapers are sold.

At the time of its independence, there were 3,000 newspapers and magazines published in India. Three hundred of them were daily newspapers. Today, their number has reached 19,000. From among them, 1,264 are daily newspapers. These newspapers are published in 84 languages, 16 of them major languages. The largest number is that of the Hindi newspapers, which is followed by the English, and in the third place is the Bengali language. The collective circulation of all the dailies is 51 million daily. From among them, the circulation of the Hindi newspapers is 14 million and that of the English newspapers is 11 million. There are four news agencies in India, whereas Pakistan has only two. One of the Indian news agencies, the Press Trust of India, has 34 representatives posted in various countries. On the other hand, none of the news agencies of Pakistan has its representatives even in the countries that are the world's five atomic powers and the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, such as America, the Soviet Union, China, Britain and France.

The number of English dailies in India is 102, while we have just 8 of them. There are 367 Hindi, 36 Bengali, 37 Gujrati, 74 Cantra, 95 Malyalam, 117 Marhati, 8 Urdhria, 22 Punjabi, 4 Sindhi, 92 Tamil, 29 Tilgo and 120 Urdu language daily newspapers published in India. In Pakistan, even the number of the daily newspapers in our national language, Urdu, is not 120. There are only two daily newspapers published in Gujrati. The number of the Sindhi



language dailies has remained almost the same as that of the Indian Sindhi daily newspapers. There is not a single daily newspaper published in the Punjabi language; although Punjab is the largest province of our country. Still, no Punjabi daily newspaper is published from there.

Every administration did outline some kind of policy for radio and TV. However, no national policy has ever been formulated for publications, nor have any guiding principles been set for the print media. This inflicted one great harm that monopolies patronized the newspapers. Cartels were born, and small newspapers and magazines continued to be phased out. No administration has ever tried to support the small and mediocre type of newspapers in order to create a trend of competition, so that monopolies might terminate. These monopolies have not only inflicted cultural harm upon regional and provincial journalism, but national unanimity, too, is being damaged. Every newspaper published in a province naturally gives preference to its own province only. None of the provinces publishes any such newspaper in the national language which, on this basis, could be termed a national newspaper in that it allocates equal space to the news of all four provinces, or after reading which, every person could become aware of all the important events of the four provinces. The situation today is such that even the picture of a minister or governor of one province does not appear in another province's newspaper. The people of one province are unaware of even the names of the ministers of the other provinces.

9779/12947  
CSO: 4656/3

PAKISTAN

SERIOUS CONCERN EXPRESSED OVER BRIBERY, CORRUPTION

Karachi AMN in Urdu 19 Sep 85 p 2

[Editorial: "How Will the Wind of Bribery Blow?"]

[Text] Recently, a discussion lasting for 2.5 hours was held in the National Assembly on the subject of bribery. However, it produced no results. Since time was short and many members could not express their viewpoints, this discussion was postponed to some later sitting. The sad thing about the discussion on this subject is that it was held in the House on the special day for unofficial members. This very House had also discussed the subject of the current situation of public peace in the country. This discussion, however, was conducted on the motion of the federal interior minister. How great it would have been if the discussion on the subject of bribery, too, had been a motion by the administration itself and several days had been set aside to hold this discussion continuously, to enable the maximum possible members of the House to express their views on this issue, and valuable proposals could have come to the forefront. There is only one day in a week reserved for the unofficial members to have their proposals enacted upon in the National Assembly. Thus, there will be a gap of almost 6 days in the discussion, and again, it is not certain whether the discussion will reach its completion even in the next session. This chain of discussion could also be prolonged further.

During this discussion in the House, the remarks made by President Ziaul Haq and Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo against bribery were also brought under discussion. At the same time, a complaint was lodged that despite this evil, no effective measure has been taken to uproot bribery. The situation depicted by this discussion is that the roots of bribery in the country have grown so deep that the feeling of crime regarding this evil has vanished. Bribery has become a fashion. The members complained about the fact that the federal chief law enforcement officer has not been authorized to prevent bribery. The situation now is such that any task, whether small or big, cannot be accomplished without bribery. The members emphasized the need to initiate the act of accountability to end the evil of bribery. Some members held the present extortionist administration responsible for bribery. They stressed on the government to fulfill the four basic needs of the people, that is, food, water, clothing and housing, through the Islamic methods.

Some members suggested that fiefdoms bestowed by the British should be confiscated. Changes should be made in the country's political, economic, administrative, judicial and police systems according to the Islamic system. TV programs that exhibit luxury and gaiety should be stopped. The minimum salary should be 1,500 rupees per month. There should be a minimum difference between the salaries of the ordinary employees and the high officials. The importation of luxury items should be totally stopped. Certain members also held the central government, which is acting beyond its powers, as the cause of bribery. Some members complained that certain wealthy individuals openly bought votes during the elections. However, instead of taking some action against them, they were offered vital posts. Bribery is a disease which has started being used in hospitals, for admissions in the educational institutions, for the appointments of police officers at the police stations, for obtaining gas or electric connections and even for booking seats on trains and airplanes. So much so, that even in the courts, there is bargaining for agreeable decisions. The House was warned that if the mischief of bribery is not terminated as soon as possible, the entire nation will have to face destruction.

The only thing that this discussion has so far indicated is that the members of the National Assembly are well aware of bribery and its destructive impacts. However, so far, no such proposals could be presented in the House as to what immediate steps should be taken to remove the existence of this evil and, along with reviving among the people the feeling of bribery being a crime, what should be a severe Islamic punishment for it. We hope that until this discussion concludes, a lot of beneficial proposals concerning this subject will come into the limelight. In this very discussion, the members should also decide whether there is a need for any new effective and all-embracing law to terminate bribery or whether making changes in the present law only, according to Islamic principles, will be sufficient. To establish this result is not a very complicated process. Everyone is aware of the fact that Islam does not permit the hoarding of wealth in a few hands only; whether this hoarding of wealth is through bribery or any other method. It is also essential to examine the palace-type mansions that the bribery-takers have built with forbidden earnings and the luxurious goods they have collected, so that such people might receive their due punishment. What remains to be seen now is, after the remaining discussion on this subject, how bribery will be tackled.

9779/12947  
CSO: 4656/3

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

PPP WORKERS ALLEGE HARASSMENT--The activists of the Pakistan People's Party here have alleged continuous harassment by the city police for the last many days. A large number of PPP workers told "The Muslim" that they were called to the police station, roughed up, and then released with the warning that they should quit the party. They termed the police behaviour as "unprecedentedly unique in the country's political history and sought on immediate end to it. The workers demanded the release of all political detenus and urged the authorities to provide proper medical facilities to the ailing prisoners. They also feared that with the enforcement of the Eighth Amendment Bill, Martial Law would be "civilianised". The activists warned of serious consequences if the harassment continued by the police. Those who complained of the police excesses included Rashid Mir (local PPP, President), Sultan Mehmood Qazi (Secretary General) Sheikh Liaquat Ali, Riaz Shehzad, Ghulam Hussain Afridi, Islam Butt and Zafarul Haq Shah. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Oct 85 p 3] [Article by Tariq Butt] /13104

CSO: 4600/63

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